

# **VOLUNTARY ACTION IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY**

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## *Foreword*

I am happy to know that Shri V. M. Kulkarni has decided to bring out in a brochure the interesting lectures he delivered some years back.

To change society both State action and Folk action are needed. In the United States without the New Deal programme the possibilities of social welfare would not have emerged. In combating racial discrimination, the role of the Supreme Court has turned out to be crucial.

In India too unless economic growth is assured prospects of welfare cannot emerge. In crucial areas of removal of untouchability, integration of tribal people, amelioration of the status of women, etc., State action has to provide the leverage. In a poor country, there is, however, a greater need for community effort. Community effort is at once the indication of and the discipline for social awakening. Poor alone can help the poor. The fabric of society has its warp in the understanding among the poor and the needy, the woof can come from State action and support. When the warp cannot be set, woof cannot achieve much.

It is the responsibility of those who organised social welfare in the Government to evoke public response and co-operation. The Central Social Welfare Board (with their network of State Social Welfare Advisory Boards) and the newly established Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Co-operation are institutional aids to that end.

Shri Kulkarni's remarks, I hope, will stir us to further meaningful action.

November 2, 1968.  
2 Janpath, New Delhi-11.

ASOKA MEHTA



## *Preface*

In the traditional Indian social structure there were built-in devices for meeting unmet human needs, mitigating human suffering and helping people with inadequate resources. Guided by traditions, individual and community voluntary action lent support to the needy. In an hour of crisis or otherwise, mutual aid and group action were common in day to day life. Such voluntary action easily came forth at the local level and met needs of handicapped individuals or groups. How adequate these arrangements were, it is difficult to say. But they were a feature of a society which was predominantly dependent on agriculture or, in other words, a pre-industrial society. It must, however, be admitted that the aid that was so available through indigenous institutions and practices which the people had built and maintained through their own resources for small village communities, increasingly proved inadequate as conditions changed.

In newly developed urban areas with large populations, residents lack community feeling, mutually and collectively helpful traditions and voluntarily organised community efforts to meet individual and group needs. The need for well organised action and services at the community level to support individuals, families and groups and perform functions of the built-in devices in the traditional Indian social structure described earlier, was greatly felt in urban areas.

To meet some of the acutely felt needs in towns and cities some voluntary organisations came into being on the basis of religion, caste, sub-caste, language, etc. Some other voluntary organisations were started with direct or indirect official patronage, during the British days. It is also during this period

that as a result of lead given by leaders of social reform movements or those engaged in struggle for India's political freedom, many useful services were established in the fields of education, health, co-operation and social welfare through voluntary action.

After Independence, government came in, in these fields in a relatively big way, but, at the same time they attached great importance to voluntary action. The First Five Year Plan observed that 'a national plan which embraces both the public and the private sectors may yet be incomplete unless the enthusiastic support of large number of voluntary organisations and voluntary workers engaged in constructive work can be harnessed for national development'. And it is at this time that voluntary organisations and citizens increasingly started looking to Government for leadership and for resources. To an extent political influences cast their shadows on voluntary organisations and agencies. While voluntary organisations were exhorted to raise resources from the community, official financial assistance was made available to voluntary agencies in varying degrees without carefully studying its impact on voluntary action. Because of the federal structure of Indian polity and the goal of socialistic pattern of society, reallocation of responsibilities between Central and State Governments, Municipal and Panchayati Raj institutions and voluntary organisations became necessary to avoid overlapping and conflicts, on one hand and to promote coordinated action at all levels, on the other. Relationship between government and voluntary organisations had to be clarified and, wherever necessary, adjusted. The whole subject needed to be systematically studied.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration, recognising the role of voluntary organisations in national life as a form of administrative organisation, invited, in February, 1964, Shri V. M. Kulkarni who had worked for over two decades in a variety of voluntary social welfare organisations, at the local, national and international levels, to give three public lectures on 'Voluntary Action in a Developing Society'. The text of these talks, revised and brought up-to-date, is now being published in a book form.

I hope that Shri Kulkarni's analysis and suggestions will be found useful by those who are practising voluntary action

or who are supporting it and also by those who are interested both in revitalising democracy and in achieving faster total development on socialistic lines.

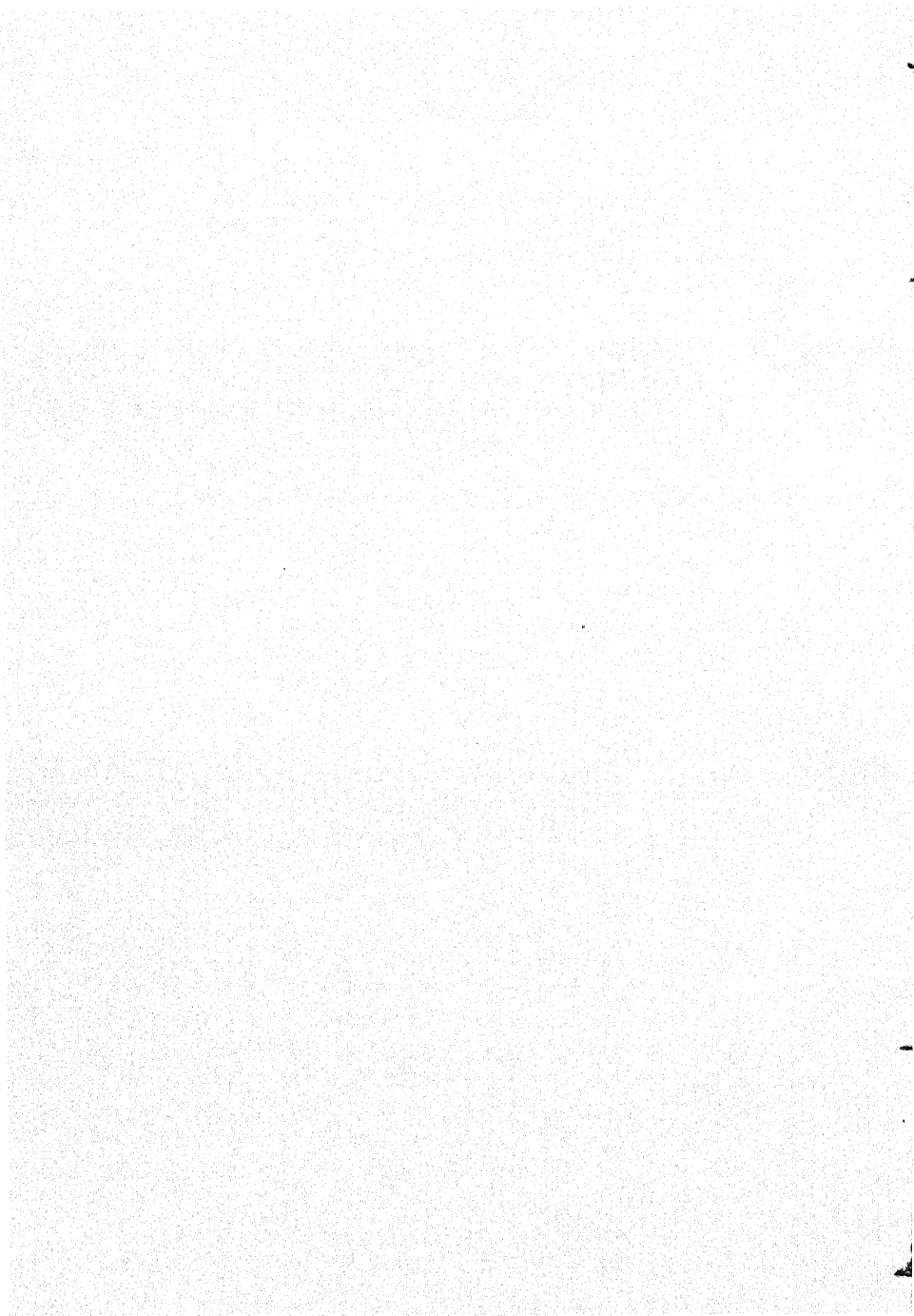
J. N. KHOSLA

*Director*

*New Delhi*

*March, 1969.*

Indian Institute of Public Administration



## *The Author's Note*

A little over four years ago, I delivered three public lectures on *Voluntary Action in a Developing Society* at the Indian Institute of Public Administration. For various reasons their publication was delayed. Dr. V. Jagannadham and a few friends, thinking that I was waiting for an opportunity to radically revise them, said, and most probably to encourage me, that as they were, they were worth publishing. Besides this pressure, there was, however, something in the current situation that persuaded me to get the text of these talks ready for publication. And this was the urgent need to initiate at least a debate and if possible action on the part of citizens and citizen leaders in relation to the subject of voluntary action.

During the last few years, many things happened in India, as elsewhere. In the context of these happenings the question of voluntary action repeatedly came up. Voluntary action, however, neither got generated on a sizable scale nor the existing efforts at voluntary action got strengthened and consolidated.

On the 20th March, 1963 in the series 'Democracy Faces the Challenge', broadcast by the All India Radio, Shri Balwantraji Mehta spoke on 'The Role of Voluntary Agencies'. Among other things, he said :

"Under democratic freedom, we have thousands of institutions in this country, which are working for social service, social reform and social development. There are others which work for cultural and educational advance. Others are devoting themselves to economic uplift and

still others which work in the fields of sports and games. Research in various fields of life claims attention of many institutions and many workers are giving their best to the relief of distress.

“Soon after the Chinese aggression on the Indian border, we could notice a spontaneous upsurge of patriotic feelings in the minds of vast millions of our country men. Without waiting for any lead from the national leadership, they threw up local leaders in every place, organised defence or citizen’s committees comprising of all the vital elements in the public life of that place, formulated programmes of action for tremendous non-official efforts in aid of national defence”.

“We cannot afford to relax; we cannot go back in a state of complacency”.

At the time of the conflict with Pakistan, the whole country rose up like one man and plenty of voluntary action virtually burst forth. Spontaneously people got together and took up a variety of work on their own and strengthened the national effort through voluntary action. Even the top leaders then said that the new awakening should be consolidated and institutionalised. But the enthusiasm, and the organisational structure that were then thrown up for voluntary action, the service centres that sprang up—all gradually died down. Every one mourned their death. If in the hour of crisis so much voluntary action comes forth why not have it and harness it for nation building activities, some asked. Even this debate progressively withered.

Then India had two difficult years of drought. Relief came from abroad. People from the States other than those affected, rushed to help. The major burden of relief operation was of course shouldered by the Government. Local voluntary action, however, was, to be polite, extremely weak. Describing the role of the Bihar Relief Committee in the 1967 famine crisis, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan laid particular stress on calling forth and channelising people’s latent capacities for self-help and mutual aid, their initiative and moral resources.

When arrivals of P.L. 480 grain ships at various Indian

ports were meticulously reported in the press a couple of years ago, some one told a young man in a famine stricken area that as ship-loads of food grains were coming in, there was no need for the young man to work so hard on producing food under adverse circumstances. Continuing his work he said that other countries could and might send food but not water. He further added that water atleast he must strike.

Foreign aid is getting slashed down. We have been invoking the *mantra* of *Swadeshi* once again.

Prof. Gunnar Myrdall has said in his *Asian Drama* that at the best the developed countries could transfer capital equipment and the know-how to the developing countries but there was much that the developing countries could do themselves. And he has a long list of such tasks.

In a free and developing society citizens expect many things to happen. This is natural. It was, however, necessary for them to realise that while there was nothing wrong in having rising expectations, it was certainly not correct on their part to think that the Government could or should perform the task of fulfilling them, alone.

The government should be looked upon as the most powerful agency for national development, no doubt, but the major brunt must be borne by the people individually and collectively. The collective efforts could be through voluntary as well as governmental action. We are more concerned here with voluntary action in the community for public purposes.

It must be admitted that while much is being done through governmental agencies, the springs of voluntary action do not seem to have burst forth on a large scale. They also do not seem to have been flowing freely, liberally, and evenly, all over the country. Wherever voluntary action gets well organised, it comes against odds. One of the reasons, if we may infer it from the way the people talk, seems to be the wrong notion that in a welfare state and particularly with a socialistic society as an ideal, it is the state that has to do everything. It is necessary for Indian citizens to realise that they have chosen *democratic* socialism as the national goal and as such there is plenty of scope for voluntary action in the Indian social, political and economic set-up.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, some years ago, while delivering

Lala Lajpat Rai Memorial lectures said that on the 15th August, 1947 the plaster in which the Indian Society was kept over a couple of centuries had broken, but the society had to go through a variety of therapeutic exercises before it could have its full functional ability restored. He further added that '*Lokashakti*' i.e. people's latent capacities for self-help, mutual aid and for managing their affairs by themselves at all levels, needed to be brought into full play. Much lip service is being paid to this concept of '*Lokashakti*' but one does not see it either released or having released organised on an impact making scale. Are we afraid of releasing '*Lokashakti*'? Are we unable to organise it? Do we realise that if we do not allow it to flow forth freely, it may burst with a bang leaving ravages behind?

Thinking thus that the substance of the three lectures is still fresh in the current context and is of meaning to the Indian society, I decided to present these talks to the interested readers. If the publication makes some contribution to a discussion of the role of voluntary action at this stage of our development and promotes it, a very important purpose will have been served. The IIPA may have then the satisfaction of having revived interest in a subject so vital and yet, so neglected.

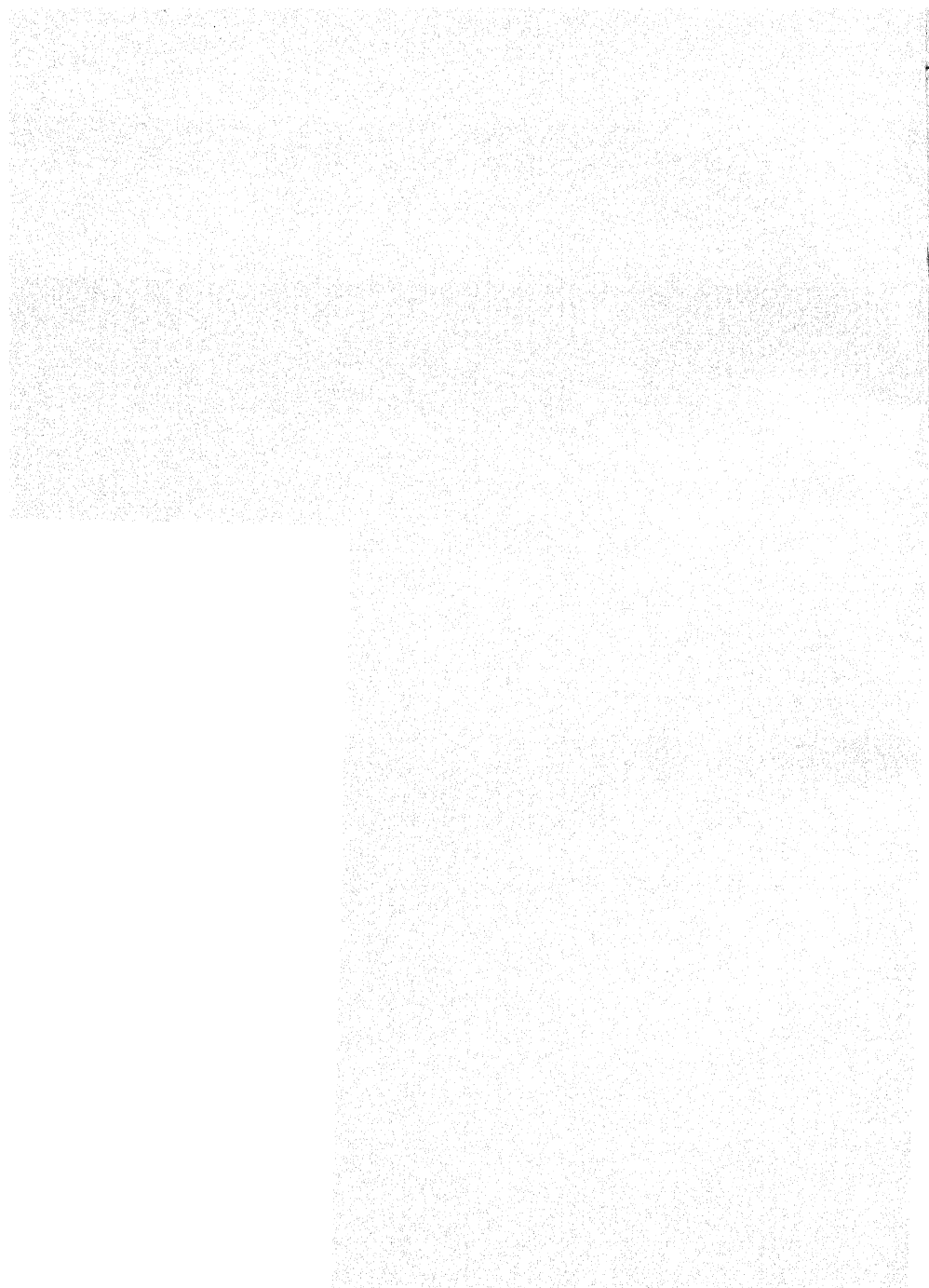
I am grateful to Dr. J. N. Khosla, and Prof. V. K. N. Menon, the present and the former Directors of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, respectively, for the opportunities that they provided me and the encouragement I received from them. To Smt. Renuka Ray, Shri Radha Raman, Shri S. N. Ranade and Prof. N. Srinivasan, I am thankful for having presided over the lectures. I am indebted to Dr. V. Jagannadham and Shri P.D. Kulkarni but I would prefer to keep the debt unrepaid. I am also thankful to the artist who designed the cover.

Finally, I express my deep sense of gratitude to Shri Asoka Mehta who in the midst of his pre-occupations promptly agreed to my request and wrote the foreword. Shri Mehta always inspired me because of his vision, lucid exposition of his analysis of problem situations, and clear indication of possible solutions to difficulties.



# *Contents*

	Page
Foreword	v
Preface	vii
Author's Note	xi
Introductory Remarks	1
The First Principles	3
Voluntary Action in India	26
Some Comparisons and Conclusions	47
Bibliography	63



## Introductory Remarks

At the outset I would like to present the plan of the three lectures. We shall have a look at the subject theoretically in the first talk entitled 'the first principles'. In the second talk we shall review voluntary action in India with special reference to activities taken up for achieving social welfare. In the third lecture we shall have some comparisons and conclusions.

The world of voluntary action is as vast as life and needs to be fully investigated. But at the moment I am not equipped for it, as my knowledge and experience are primarily related to the field of social services and more so with social welfare services. My observations are also not conclusions of a survey or of a long drawn out research study. The second and the third talks, therefore, have two severe limitations: (1) the review and conclusions are predominantly oriented to the experiences in the field of social and social welfare services; and (2) much that is said here is impressionistic. Besides, the third talk will be in two parts. The first part will consist of comparative view of similar work done in the U. K., the U.S.A., Scandinavian Countries, and Yugoslavia and the second half will have conclusions and suggestions.

### *The Spirit of Inquiry*

Shri Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, said in 1963 that in the next 15 years, the country was going to face perhaps greater stresses and strains than she had experienced in the past. This would be true in relation to the area of voluntary action where our thinking has started late.

Shri Mehta appealed to those engaged in planning to be in a questioning mood and challenge everything they had done in the past, particularly the instruments, tools, techniques and devices they had used. It is in this mood of questioning I am undertaking the study of voluntary action, which is essentially a form of organisation for carrying out activities in various fields in a developing society, that is India.

# I

## The First Principles

We have chosen a democratic way of life and are working for a socialistic pattern of society. From a traditional society we are moving on to a modern society where science, technology and rationality are supposed to be at premium. The role of voluntary action in a society on way to a democratic socialistic welfare state is the subject for our consideration. It is wrong to suppose that we have accomplished most of the values of democracy. It is equally wrong to suppose that we have realised socialism. It would be amateurish to think that we have achieved the welfare state. We only mean that our processes of development would be democratic and the goals towards which our efforts will be directed are socialism and welfare state. It is through the development process that we hope to move towards a 'democratic socialistic welfare state'.

At this stage we are required to discuss a few basic concepts though I know that you are conversant with them. I would, however, briefly try to present them to you.

### *Democracy*

Democracy is described, as you are aware, as government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is also considered a mixture of self-government by the concurrence of everybody having safety and opportunity for the individual. Representative institutions are its special feature. It also is an effort to strike a balance between liberty and equality. To

capture the spirit of democracy and to appreciate it effectively, one has to study its evolution through centuries, and students of voluntary action will have to undertake this study. For the purposes of our discussion, however, it is enough to note that democracy recognises the institutions of the society and the state. It does not equate them. The national societies have separate existence from national states. Democracy does not consider these two co-terminous. State is only one aspect of a national society.

We need both the society and the state. In both the society and the state, citizens find fulfilment simultaneously. Voluntary organisations in the society are not a second state. Their work is complementary to the state. Their work is not against the state but in addition to and with the state. "The collaboration of the free state based on civil and political liberty with the free play of voluntary cooperation, acting in the areas of the society, is the sum and substance of modern liberty."

### *A Gift of Democracy*

Democracy allows scope for the individual to undertake action in a national society, independent of the state. The 'private action, that is to say, action not under the direction of any authority wielding power of the state', therefore, is called voluntary action. So voluntary action without any further limitation covers all areas of life and all the activities of individual citizens in their homes as well as outside their homes, not directed by the state.

A free society, though the word 'free' may vary in connotation from time to time and from place to place, is a characteristic of democracy. In a free society, voluntary action is possible, voluntary action could, therefore, be described as a gift of democracy.

We thus have voluntary action by individual citizens in their homes and in the society and voluntary action by citizen groups outside their homes for private and public purposes. While it is the responsibility of the state to ensure to individuals maximum of freedom, the responsibilities inside and outside the homes to improve conditions of life for themselves, for

their families and fellow men need to be discharged by citizens to the best of their abilities.

### *Voluntary Action Inside the Home*

If individuals as constituent members of families discharge their duties properly, they will be able to face many problems of life on their own, of course, within the climate provided by the state. And to that extent their dependence on the society and on the state will be comparatively less. They will thus retain their freedom and initiative. On the other hand, if the individual members of the family and the family as a group were weak, not in the best of health, many of their responsibilities which should be normally and naturally shouldered by the individuals and the family, will fall on the society or more specifically on the state. They will perforce surrender individual freedom in these circumstances and invite the society or again more specifically, the state, to regulate their lives. It is, therefore, essential that the individuals and the families inside their homes should be better equipped and strengthened to use the freedom and initiative in the interest of human happiness. All state policies, programmes and services should, therefore, be so directed as to promote freedom, individuality, initiative and vigour for living among its citizens in the family and inside their homes. Individuals in the society should not cease to be responsible for their lives and for those of the members of their families. While for difficulties arising out of causes beyond the control of the individual and the family the aid of the society and the state should be available, in giving the aid care should, however, be taken to see that the individual freedom and responsibility were retained, protected, promoted and encouraged. In these talks we are not going to develop the subject of voluntary action by citizens inside their homes and in the society for personal purposes, further. We will be more concerned with voluntary action by citizens outside their homes and for public purposes.

### *Socialistic Ideology*

Socialistic ideology has made a significant contribution to human civilisation. It pointed out the sore spots in contemporary

society and helped the awakening among and organisation of the working class, filled it with a sense of human dignity and made it a conscious cooperator in the historical process of development. In the struggle to give democracy a more useful connotation, socialistic measures stepped in. In a democratic socialistic society efforts are to be made to integrate maximum values of socialism into the democratic pattern of life. As democracy marches on vigorously the apparent conflict between democracy and socialism will narrow down and then socialism will look to be the logical outcome of democratic theory and practices.

### *Welfare State*

Another ideology that is in the field which is making tremendous impact and which has caught the imagination of the people throughout the world is that of 'Welfare State'. There was a *laissez faire* state, a Police state. Then the functions of the state got tempered by democratic processes. Then started the process of expansion of state activities over wider areas with a view to removing some of the sectional and general evils. The state took a wider view of its obligations and undertook activities with a view to mitigating sufferings arising out of social evils and promoting the welfare of citizens. In some countries, the state made a number of *interventions*. The welfare state recognises this obligation in as wide a field as is necessary under the special conditions of each country.

The concept of welfare state, it must be realised, at no stage, however, indicated that it would like to put a premium on dependence of the individual or the citizen groups on the state. It also does not stand for promoting parasitism. It is not a dole-distributing state either. In this context it may now be remembered that while many countries of the world are working towards a welfare state, some countries particularly the so-called developed ones, have realised much that is signified by the term welfare state, and in some, welfare state has been fully realised. Men with vision like Gunnar Myrdal have today started looking even "beyond the welfare state".

While the synthesis between democracy, socialism and the welfare state is being worked out and the political and social institutions are undergoing suitable modifications, in this



process we have to find a place for voluntary action for public purposes.

### *The Society and the State*

As has been said earlier that we need both the society and the state. A national society is a community which exists for the general promotion of the whole of national culture in all its ranges and aspects. It is a society of 'self' which exists for the general development of every self in every sphere of self-development.

We have loyalties to the national society as also to the national state. We have to distinguish between two loyalties and freedom and also to reconcile them. Loyalties due to both and the freedoms flowing from both are equally important to us. We shall regard both as pursuing in collaboration and not in antagonism, the same aim of human liberty, namely, free human development, political, economic and social, by their different methods and in a variety of areas. The efforts to be made to achieve this objective will thus be the joint work of both and not the monopoly of either.

We have to carry on a large number of activities in the national society in a manner as would not contravene or injuriously affect the purpose of the national state. Now in this context I have to say that this freedom of citizen groups to undertake voluntary action is not absolute.

### *Monolithic vs. Pluralistic*

We are living in a pluralistic society. While pointing out the virtues of the pluralistic society Aldous Huxley once observed that there were immense reserves of latent potentialities in men and their complex and multivalent society such as the one in which we live, rather than in a unified society. And this situation affords scope for realisation of these latent resources in the positive direction of greater intelligence, increased loving kindness, more virtue and greater enjoyment of life.

### *Voluntary Action for Public Purposes*

All these earlier observations will provide the necessary

backdrop for our discussion. Now we come to the definition of voluntary action. For voluntary action for public purposes, Lord Beveridge has given a very good definition. A generation ago, according to him, a voluntary worker was some one who gave unpaid service to a good cause and the group which was formed for working for that good cause came to be known as a voluntary organisation. The group took its name in fact from the outstanding characteristic of the workers upon whom it depended. In recent years, however, there has been a significant shift in meaning here. Nowadays many of the most voluntary organisations are staffed entirely by highly trained and fairly well-paid professional workers. The distinctly voluntary character of such bodies is the product, not of the kind of workers they employed, but of the mode of birth and method of government. Lord Beveridge says : "A voluntary organisation, properly speaking, is an organisation which, whether its workers are paid or unpaid, is initiated and governed by its own members without external control." Definitions given by Mary Morris and Modeline Rooft are also similar. The only addition that Modeline Rooft makes is that these voluntary organisations should depend in part at least, upon finding support from voluntary resources.

### *The Urge to Act in Groups*

A quotation from Mary Morris gives us a different angle for the study of voluntary organisations. She observes : "The opportunity of leading a full life depends not only on a prosperous society and on a just distribution of its resources. They (people) depend on its being the kind of society which is important from the point of view of our study in which all can take an active part not only through their work and in politics, *but in other ways also*. Though work and politics are of central importance they form only a part of what makes life worth living."

"To lead a full life", she adds, "most people need more than they can find in their work or home. They need to live as members of groups doing things for themselves and their fellow members or for the benefit of others outside the group. The urge to act in groups is fundamental to man."

Voluntary action has so far expressed itself in the trade unions, co-operatives, cultural activities, social services, social welfare services, professional associations and in helping fellow citizens on individual to individual basis.

### *A Form of Organisation*

Voluntary action is a form of organising activities supporting, strengthening and helping to develop work to meet all types of needs of individuals and groups in a society. State, it is true, has assumed greater responsibilities for welfare of its citizen than before. But in a democratic socialistic pattern of society while performing its many and onerous functions the state, however, need not assume responsibilities for direct management of the variety of services. Direct management of some of the functions directly by the state is only one of the several ways in which the state could do things, but it neither is the most important nor the best of the ways.

Thus while there are a number of activities outside the direct jurisdiction of the state that voluntary organisations can organise and conduct in a national society, they can also undertake some of the functions of the state with its consent, assistance and support.

### *Power Breaker*

If we have to avoid concentration of power, we must retain this multi-group character of the free society and make full use of it. Voluntary action, therefore, to my mind serves as a power breaker. It prevents government from developing a monopoly in various fields. It involves citizens in public affairs and avoids concentration of power in the hands of government.

When many effective voluntary groups will have a major share in the management of public affairs at the local level, it is only then we shall be able to realise the essence of the statement that that government is best which governs least. There is need for wide diffusion of power, not only within the government from the national to the State level and then on to the local authorities, but decentralisation in democracy should

include sharing power with voluntary agencies. Voluntary action in the national society, partly within the areas of the state, helps achieve this objective of decentralisation and also involves participation by citizens outside politics, in work useful to the society.

### *A Safety Valve*

All citizens are not able to participate in the activities of the state through politics and through government, some for political reasons and others for other obvious limitations. Their services would never be available to the public if they were to be available to the society through the political or governmental channels, only. These citizens can form themselves into voluntary groups and function to enrich life in general and particularly in the fields of co-operation, cultural activities, social services, social welfare services, professional associations, etc. These provide avenues of constructive activities to the groups outside the areas of active politics. This, to my mind, acts as a safety valve and provides a mechanism by which free talent becomes available to the society. Dr. C. D. Deshmukh once said and correctly that he would not be available for any body or any organisation who might desire to employ him but he could certainly voluntarily make his best contribution through voluntary organisations. The people who are dissatisfied with the conditions of life and who wish to work for bringing about change in society, not through politics and political or governmental institutions alone, can take to this form of action and work for desired social ends. This supports the view that all good does not and need not flow from or through political institutions alone.

### *National Minimum : Local Richness*

Implementation of measures which are of universal character and which could be implemented only through state resources may be left to the state for operation either exclusively through governmental organisations or by sharing powers or functions with voluntary organisations. Even in such circumstances, as indicated earlier, as the state ensures the

national minimum support to citizens below which no citizen should be allowed to fall, the state can encourage citizens and citizen groups individually or together to achieve better standards of living. Through voluntary efforts, therefore, citizen groups can release additional resources locally for meeting uncovered local needs and for enriching local life. This will be in addition to what the state does which could be regarded as a minimum for all.

### *Parallel Bar and Extension Leader*

While the state is performing certain limited functions and consequently attempting to provide the national minimum, voluntary organisations can support it in its work in two ways. They can manage, as I have said earlier, some of the activities of the state and in some areas do better than the state. In this context, mention could be made of the “parallel bar theory” and the “extension ladder theory”. Voluntary action could function on both these lines with varied emphasis in the developed and the developing societies. Let us take an illustration. Education is a responsibility of the state in India. In the field of education there will be services directly run by the government. But side by side there could be services managed by voluntary organisations also. When the state resources are limited, voluntary action would bring forth additional resources and cover the areas uncovered by the state even in the areas in which the state has accepted responsibility. Thus the people will not have to wait for education till the state is in a position to raise additional and enough resources. The state resources in these circumstances go a long way, and cover the areas needed to be covered, early. Here it is presumed that in course of time the state will find additional resources to meet its basic obligations. When such a situation develops, what will happen? The voluntary organisations which existed side by side with state agencies doing the same or similar work can even then continue, on the basis of “extension ladder theory”. In view of the flexibility, ability at experimentation, pioneering spirit and other qualities, voluntary organisations can continue to work for better standards, better methods and better forms of organisation of educational services. Thus voluntary

organisations will have a role to play even in the areas of accepted state responsibilities, discharged normally through tax-supported services. Voluntary organisations can also go in search of new needs, work in new areas, unveil social evils and give attention to hitherto unattended and unmet needs. Voluntary agencies can act as sappers and miners of ever unfolding developmental revolution. They can function as reconaissance squads. They can be fore-runners of change and anticipate and take action to make it less painful. They can work for progress, development and consequently in course of time they can help the state in extending its activities over wider areas, thus raising the national minimum.

### *Constructive Impersonal Criticism*

In a democratic set-up, public opinion has to support progressive measures and constructively criticise other measures and actions of the state, in the public interest. In view of their independent position voluntary agencies can perform this function with freedom from fear and courage of conviction. Besides, certain needs may strike the volunteers or even the salaried workers in voluntary organisations which may not strike the government departments and the government officers. The former are specially qualified for such work because of their independent point of view and the specialised areas of operation that they are working in, at the field level.

### *A Stabilising Force*

In a politically divided national society, voluntary action can act as a unifying force. As much of the life in the society as possible, should be governed, to my mind, by local citizen groups on the basis of accepted consensus. This will tend to limit the scope of politics, political institutions and political leaders to the political aspects of life. The country may have to have a number of political parties, may be at least two. They may vie with each other in the arena of politics. But some areas of life could be lifted above party politics and all irrespective of their political hues can work together in these areas. The more such agreed areas emerge, and the more we work

together, we shall be better integrated nationally, in spite of the fact that for fighting for our political goals we may play our roles through different political parties. Today we are more conscious of and are more consciously working on what divides us and say that we have little in common to work together. It is also said that models of the Indian society of the future that the political parties have before them are irreconcilable. I think if we accept democratic socialistic society as our goal we could sift our life, find what is consistent with this goal in our national life and locate the areas for joint work. The question may be raised as to who says that the national majority consensus is in favour of democratic socialistic society. I have only one answer. If it is not then we should work for it and get it accepted. If such consensus prevails and we adequately work on it, in times of political crisis, a large part of our national life, to a great extent, will remain undisturbed. This solidarity will hold the national society together and enable it to deal with political crisis better.

In a country where parties with different ideologies can form governments at the union level and the state level or when there is change of government, the difficulties, if any, would then be mostly limited to the political aspects of life if other aspects of life are managed by citizen groups that do not function on party lines. This, in essence, will mean that excepting political aspects of life, the rest of life will be well integrated and less sensitive to turmoils.

### *Meeting Special Needs*

The State action, for various reasons, will not be able to meet all the special requirements of the people or satisfy the needs of specialised interests and special groups based on age, differences, special requirements and the handicaps. Thus while the state may try to ensure certain minimum conditions and give material relief, the particular needs of special groups with local character may have to be taken care of by voluntary organisations. The state may provide some resources and help bring citizens together in larger numbers for such work in voluntary organisations. The resources that the state may put in and the spare skills, energies and time of those citizens who have them and are willing to give them, will thus be best utilised.

*Do's and Don'ts for the State*

There are certain things which the state, though resources might be available to it, should not do. Organising leisure of citizens or programmes of youth welfare are activities of such type. When the citizen is dissatisfied with an action taken by the state or its agent, he is not likely to get his grievance redressed by another department or another government official, easily. He would need help and would feel free and better disposed to accept it from an independent citizen or a citizens' organisation. Organising youth welfare programmes and leisure time activities for citizens, counselling on family and personal matters, advising citizens migrating to urban areas and helping those grieved by state action, are some of the functions which could only be properly performed by voluntary organisations and not by the state because of the very nature of the state, its role and its activities.

*Partly Grants : Partly Collections*

Voluntary organisations constitute a part of the machinery provided by the society in its institutional structure in addition to the state, in its own interest. Prof. Gunnar Myrdal gives them a place in the infra-structure of the organised society. W.H.S. Sprott calls them the cellular structure of the society. It becomes, therefore, necessary for society to find resources for voluntary organisations. They could partly come from the exchequer in the form of grants-in-aid and partly in the form of contributions or subscriptions from the members of the local community and/or the beneficiaries of programmes. In giving grants-in-aid, the state will acknowledge and recognise the importance of voluntary action; while dependence of voluntary organisations on the contributions from the local community and beneficiaries will induce the voluntary organisations to relate their programmes to the soil, to the local communities, and to the needs of citizen on behalf of whom they act as power-breakers. The grants-in-aid and the contributions together help the organisation to supplement state programmes, organise additional activities to enrich local life, provide opportunities for themselves to manage part of their own affairs. Moreover these organisations also help to



create a sanctuary for leadership and ideas, and promote public opinion, etc. Voluntary organisations also by involving citizens keep them up-to-date as regards the information on matters of concern to citizens.

### *Taxes Plus Contributions*

We have seen the role of voluntary organisations as power-breakers. As power-breakers voluntary organisations to an extent protect the interests of the citizen by not allowing concentration of power in the government alone. From this point of view, the citizen should not be interested in receiving all the services needed by him in the community through tax resources and from the state alone. This creates a monopoly and eliminates the climate and conditions conducive to social progress. He should, therefore, in his own and national interest pay the price of community services partly through taxes and partly through contribution to voluntary agencies and organisations. This, to an extent, breaks the monopoly of the government and gives the citizen an opportunity to shape the programmes and services sponsored by voluntary organisations for the betterment of conditions of life for himself and his fellow-men.

### *Not in the Role of Political Opposition*

Voluntary organisations for social and social welfare services should, as far as possible, be non-political in character, unless they are organised and run by political parties themselves. They should not be looked upon as working in opposition to government nor they should take the role of political opposition. Their work is not against the government but it is with or in addition to that of the government. They support the government in the better discharge of its responsibilities. They cover additional areas that the state cannot cover. They make life richer and minimise human misery. In this area, therefore, both the state and voluntary organisations should realise each other's role and conduct their affairs, accordingly both in form and spirit and establish healthy conventions for joint work. I am referring to constructive and

non-controversial programmes at present. So far as the structural and institutional aspects were concerned, sometimes there might be conflict of opinion.

### *The New Volunteers*

As the process of industrialisation and modernisation of society continues, a large number of citizens would be acquiring a variety of skills and increasingly a large number of them would be having leisure. While there would be no longer a question of the fortunate giving their skills and leisure for the less fortunate, it will be a question of using these skills and this leisure of a large number of people through voluntary organisations in the service of the community. New volunteers would not only be from the middle classes and middle aged group, but they would come from all classes in course of time and from all age groups.

### *Elected Bodies, No Substitutes*

With the democratic decentralisation, elected representatives would manage affairs of the government at various local levels. But though the affairs of the government would be managed by elected people, these deliberative and executive wings of the government could not be a substitute for voluntary organisations. Sometimes the question is asked, if 100 per cent, or as high as that, grant is given to voluntary agencies by the government, why the government themselves should not organise these services? If the nature and role of voluntary action is correctly understood and appreciated then these issues might not be raised. I will give my views on grants-in-aid, separately. The only question that might be asked of voluntary agencies at this stage is whether the organisation has a voluntary character and whether it has been discharging its functions satisfactorily. Good voluntary action, let me say and I am using the expression, good voluntary action, is in the long run more economical than any other form of state or commercially organised action. Management of affairs of the state by the elected people at the various levels and hundred per cent grant should not be the reasons for the state to resume functions

which could be performed by voluntary organisations.

### *Fountains of Positive Inspiration*

On many occasions in history, citizens organised voluntary action as an answer to the apathy and indifference of the Government to certain causes, certain interests and certain groups. This is true particularly of many of the religious, caste, regional and language group organisations. Much of this action was taken up as a part of the struggle for survival. So, suspicion, apathy, desire for self-preservation were mixed in motivation for voluntary action of the sectarian type with narrow goals. These organisations were based, to an extent, on a negative approach. But the conditions have now changed and the inspiration derived from what may be described as defensive approach, is no longer the major need. We should take new inspiration and work in the positive direction. Voluntary action has to acquire a new habit of drawing strength for its goals in a positive climate.

### *Loss of a Major Virtue*

The expressions 'developed' and 'developing' society are to be understood in a relative way. In the so called developed societies development has taken place over a longer period. Voluntary organisations have evolved appropriate relationships with governments and continue to do so as a matter of tradition and necessity. The societies described as traditional and which are now on the march were changing slowly so far but today the momentum of change in these societies is somewhat faster. From the colonial societies they have changed to self-governing societies. This itself is a big change. Voluntary action in the traditional societies now developing at a faster rate has consciously to undergo a change and adapt itself to new situations. It has to build new relationships with the new governments that have been formed in these newly independent countries. Just as in traditional societies, most of the relationships were steady, so was the relationship of voluntary action with the government. There are problems of readjustments now but they are understandable and not insoluble.

*To be Always on the Move*

By its very nature, voluntary organisations have to be always on the move, whether they are working on the lines of the 'parallel bar theory' or 'extension ladder theory'. In traditional societies voluntary organisations actually settled down. They are thus under a double handicap. They have forgotten that they have continually to change with the changing needs and with the erstwhile static society on the move. They have, therefore, to understand their correct nature and be ready to face the stresses and strains which is their 'privilege' and fulfil expectations, society has of them.

Here I remember a story of an officer who was supposed to tour for 20 days in a month. Once he settled down in one place and did his work from there. He forgot that he was holding a position with an itinerant character. When he was made to realise that he had to be mostly on tour, he was surprised. He naturally had to adjust to the situation. The same thing seems to have happened, in my opinion, to voluntary action. It has settled down. Whenever government starts work done by people, people engaged in voluntary action have a feeling of being dislodged. In a developing society, voluntary action has, therefore, to understand its true nature, its new relationship with the state, its ethical role in a democratic set-up and in furthering and promoting interests of the national society. When everything in a national society is on the move, as it is today, the relationships between voluntary action and its environment could not remain the same. They will have to be readjusted. Voluntary action in developing societies, at various levels, is caught up in this process and at times it seems to be confounded.

*Motivation*

Now, we will have a look at the motivation for voluntary action. It merits some attention. There may be a desire to help needy people in the society out of philanthropic consideration. Some may involve themselves in voluntary organisations through a sense of social responsibility. Profit motivation is also not ruled out. Persons may perform useful functions in a society by meeting the needs of the needy and

at the same time earn power, fame and incidentally money. All these motivations are active in the field of voluntary action. It has been said that all institutions deteriorate. Voluntary organisations are no exception. The process of renewal or reinvigoration may start from within *i.e.*, at the initiative of its own leaders and workers or from without *i.e.*, by state action in strengthening its finances or for protecting public interest. I have not dealt with the process of renewal from within as it is obvious but a word about state direction might be appropriate. The state may have sometimes to exercise control and supervision over voluntary organisations to make them serve their objectives, with due regard to public accountability. Care, however, needs to be taken by the state while performing this function, lest voluntary agencies come under severe formal or informal control of the state. Voluntary agencies also have to hold their head high and erect and protect their character in spite of the fact that they have been receiving aid and inevitable supervision from the government. The third type of motivation, *viz.*, the business motivation appears sometimes in institutions and organisations started under the camouflage of the first two motivations. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the state to keep vigilance and to check up evil use of this mode of organisation. At the same time government should take care to allow free play of these forces in keeping with the objectives, spirit and value of voluntary action. There is nothing wrong with the third motivation, provided it is clearly made known to the public and practised within an ethical framework and in the interest of the needy. The private medical practitioner engaging himself in medical service on free or easy terms for the less fortunate, could be cited as an example in point.

### *Charity and Charitable Attitude Remain*

While the mutual benefit motivation in voluntary action continues even today, the second motivation, the 'better placed' working for ameliorating the conditions of the less fortunate has undergone some change. In a democratic welfare minded society, many of these benefits, thanks to rapid strides in science and technology, are to be made available to the needy as a matter of right and not as a matter of philanthropy or

charity. So, while we may accept the principle that the benefits of services operated through voluntary organisations may be given to the needy as a matter of right, many people who come forth to give time and energy and to work for voluntary organisations, could still be motivated by a desire to contribute their mite with a sense of social responsibility. Such honorary service by the more fortunate or better placed persons helps the flow of services through diverse channels smoothly.

### *Direct Democracy and Federal Structure*

About the structure of voluntary organisations, something could be said here. Voluntary action by its very nature needs to be organised at the field, or, as we might say, the local level. The regional and national structures only have justification to the extent to which they strengthen and support local organisations and local action. In this context, there is a need for weaving voluntary organisations at the local level in either functional or all embracing federations. According to the size of the country, tiers at the regional and national levels could be organised. Voluntary organisations organised at the national level and having regional branches do not seem to be going well with the character of voluntary action. They meet conditions of voluntary action partially. There may, however, be some scope for voluntary organisations spreading from the national level downwards. But this could not be true by and large. It sounds to me topsy-turvy. Their branches look as though suspended from above. They have roots above but not below. One, therefore, witnesses a phenomenon of local voluntary organisations without effective regional and national organisations to discharge appropriate functions of concern to them at the district, State and national level and the branches of national organisations with weak roots or no roots at the field level. The spirit, philosophy, objectives, form of structure of voluntary action, need to be studied and followed carefully in organising and running voluntary organisations. Any organisation that violates these first principles of voluntary action can only be described as a voluntary organisation, in a loose way.

As voluntary organisations grow big and have units scattered over a large area geographically, numerous evils show up in

them. Red tape comes in but the most dangerous consequence is the shrinkage of democracy at the grass roots.

Experience of Yugoslavia in this context is most significant. The theoretical part of the Yugoslav experiment is well reflected in the quotations given below. Before I continue with the quotation let me say that these paragraphs could be modified and rewritten so as to suit the needs of voluntary action in a democracy. I would like you to attempt it with a view to saving time.

"The Commune in the social system of Yugoslavia is that basic social, economic and juridical political organisation in which the numerous and various threads of initiative of the citizens and interests of society meet, interwine and unravel in all their multitude either through the medium of representative bodies or their subdivisions, or through forms of direct democracy. This network of organs through the medium of which the citizens manage affairs of common interest with its precisely determined inter-relations, rights and duties, makes it possible for the constitutional principle of self-government by the working people to find most expedient, most complete and most direct expression through the commune.

"The second form of social management is exercised in self-governing institutions in the public services. This is also equally important. Generally taken, management in this field is completely decentralised and has been transferred from state jurisdiction into the hands of self-governing institutions. The state only exercises supervision over the legal side of their work and financial affairs. The state organ is rather a coordinator and in the nature of a supervisory organ of social management.

"It should only be emphasised that there are some definite common rules, but not a rigid pattern applied equally everywhere, for the features of every institution are thoroughly studied and the organisation and tasks of its organ of management determined accordingly. Social management operates in the universities, in the hospitals and pharmacies, in the homes for the aged, in orphanages, in all the schools, in the theatres, museums, public libraries, broadcasting stations, in social insurance, in the health centres, institutes or academies of science and other scientific institutions, etc."

*Not Ornamental but Interested Membership*

Membership of voluntary organisations must be a living and effective membership and not a dead or reluctant one. In the absence of effective and active members, or introduction of new blood by enrolment of new members, the organisations are left to a few people (members) and the personality cult develops. If the persons in charge are self-seekers or are motivated by self-interest, voluntary organisations become tools for self-aggrandisement.

*Harnessing Creative Turbulence*

The developing societies are passing through a process of transition. This transition is marked by what is described by W.W. Rostow as 'creative turbulence'. If there is enough social reconstruction activity, this turbulence will not be left entirely to the political parties to exploit. This turbulence will also provide the dynamic force for the social modernisation process. This needs to be channelised to a large extent for constructive work. One of the reasons to my mind why Gandhiji devised a constructive programme might have been his desire to harness the forces released and energy generated through agitation for political freedom to consolidation of gains of political struggle for social reconstruction. In this early stage of modernisation, great care needs to be exercised by creative thinkers and workers if this "creative turbulence" is not to be allowed to be misused.

*Moving Forward on the Narrow Part of the Front*

An effective plan must not only be backed by the whole apparatus of the state, but also engage minds and hearts of the people. Development is a process which requires that individuals and organised citizen groups assume responsibility for marching forward with a purpose 'on their narrow part of the fronts'. There is no substitute for the work of men and women with commitment, i.e., those who understand what needs to be done and how it is in their interest to do it.

The national plan should not only be a device for mobilising national resources but a way of focussing the nation's talent



and energy on a common enterprise—a way of having a sense of common national objectives and of common nationhood.

### *Foreign Ideas and Local Cultures*

A question is raised that some of the ideas, like democracy, socialism, and welfare state are foreign to these developing communities. Some people say that democracy, socialism, welfare state, social security, etc. are western ideas which are being transplanted in developing societies. People wonder whether these philosophies or institutions or forms of organisation could take roots in different cultures. While considering this observation, I may suggest that we may keep in mind the nature of modern mass media of communications. The ideas are travelling fast. The distances are shrinking. We are seeing the world state, the world society and the world culture emerging before our own eyes and are also experiencing the pain involved in the process. There is wider acceptance of these concepts and forms of organisation which are considered foreign. At one time there might have been justification for describing them as national or regional, eastern or western, southern or northern, according to their area of origin. All these ideas are now in a clash. While they might struggle for supremacy, what might result would be the synthesis of them all. Sri Aurobindo once observed that the days of isolated cultures were over ; the 20th century was the century of world wide synthesis in all areas of life and on all fronts. All the ideas and experiences that belong to the East or the West, to the North or the South, to one ideology or the other, to the communist countries or the non-communist countries, the rich countries and the poor countries, are on trial. While finer shades still might continue locally, it could not be denied that the world culture was taking shape. We are all in the mid-stream. The sectional talk about the traditions and local cultures, western and eastern ideas, is therefore, to be understood in the context of this situation. Our effort should be to help this process of synthesis. The developing societies should welcome all ideas and all forms of organisations from all over the world and accept and absorb them wisely, with an eye on the national and the world interest.

The developing societies have in their midst developed and

developing pockets as well as sluggish areas. In all these areas there are groups of people with different capacities for supporting different programmes and services and availing of them. In the democratic socialistic welfare state in India each group can contribute according to its mite and receive according to its need. Though this state stands for ideas and values some of which were originated in other countries, the applicability and significance of these ideas and values is universal. They, therefore, cannot any longer be treated as alien.

In the end, *to sum up*, I may say that we tried to understand, though in a limited way, the relationship of voluntary action with the concepts of democracy, socialism, welfare state, and the society. We have seen voluntary action at the individual level for individual ends and voluntary action through citizen groups for public purposes. We have also seen that voluntary action acts as a power-breaker, a safety valve and helps a wider section of citizens to participate in public affairs and have a sense of fulfilment. Voluntary action should be and could be strong at the local level. Existing side by side with the civic authorities it provides the machinery for direct democracy in social and many other matters and helps to make life richer and contributes to national progress. Its functions as a stabilising and uniting force in a developing society, a resurgent society, has been noted. We have also seen its place as the infrastructure or cellular structure of organised modern society. Voluntary action whether working on 'parallel bar' theory or on the 'extension ladder' theory, is always a plus factor. As regards its structure, we know, it must be strong at local level and at regional and national levels it should follow a federal form of organisation. Elected governmental bodies are no substitutes for voluntary organisations. Active living membership, interested and inspired by proper understanding of philosophy of voluntary action and its nature, is vital to voluntary organisations. At least a large section of membership, and particularly the leadership of voluntary organisations, will have to be so built as to ensure periodic renewal of both. It can have for motivation, mutual benefit and self-help, philanthropic feelings or sense of social responsibility, as well as promotion of personal interest. All these motivations properly utilised might enable citizens to make their contribution in many fields. By their nature, voluntary

organisations must constantly keep on moving, readapting themselves to the changing situation. They are the sappers and miners of social revolution or of the movement for progress. In a developing society voluntary organisations have a responsibility to harness creative turbulence for modernisation of social order. There are certain areas in which the state should not step in, such as youth welfare, leisure time activity programmes for citizens, citizen advising, etc. About funds for voluntary organisations, we have seen that they could come from taxes, by way of grants-in-aid, through contributions from beneficiaries and from those who were interested in the respective causes. We have seen the area in which voluntary organisations could operate better. Voluntary organisations go in search of new needs or unmet needs and having discovered them struggle to meet them, in their own way. They create public opinion and, finally, if necessary they get the state to act. This is a part of their nature. We also paid some attention to the relationship between the state and voluntary organisations in the changing social order in a developing society.

## II

# Voluntary Action in India

In the first talk we saw that socialism was not incompatible with democracy and voluntary action was not incompatible with democratic socialism. Voluntary action is not a taboo in but a prerequisite of a healthy welfare state. We studied the nature, character, structure, resources, etc., of and for voluntary action. And we also saw its role in initiating new activities on their own and in supplementing, supporting, extending and improving state activities and in interpreting and in creating public opinion. We also acquainted ourselves with the area in which it was more or less the exclusive privilege of voluntary organisations to work. We tried to understand some of the functions that voluntary organisations could perform or could perform better. It is on this background that we shall now review voluntary action in India and see, to the extent possible, the strengths and weaknesses in the situation.

### *Expansion of State Activities*

One of the important things that is to be kept in mind while reviewing the Indian situation is the continued expansion of state activities and widening of state influence since Independence in national activities in general and in relation to social welfare services in particular. This has happened in many parts of the world during the last hundred years or over. This was also inevitable there and so was the case with India. It would be better if the role of the Government and expansion of governmental activity were intelligently understood. There are many

people engaged in voluntary action who say that the Government has taken over their work ; the government is competing with them in some fields ; and that they were no longer needed. The Government also appears to be behaving mechanically in the situation and showing lack of imagination. Its action could reflect better understanding and appreciation of the contribution and role of voluntary action and difficulties of the transition.

How this expansion of governmental activities has affected voluntary action in India ? What impact it has made on voluntary organisations ? What consequential changes in the situation arising out of these have become necessary ? And what was being done in this behalf ?

Trade unions, cooperatives, cultural and recreational organisations, social services (Health, Education, Housing, etc.), social welfare services, professional associations and help on citizen to citizen basis are broadly the areas in which voluntary action has manifested itself, in India, as elsewhere.

About the trade unions, I am neither competent to speak nor I have been able to collect enough and adequate material. With your permission, therefore, I shall turn to the field of co-operatives.

### *Cooperatives*

Cooperative movement in India is fairly old. Since 1904 to date, it has grown continuously. To enable you to have an idea of the size of the cooperative activities in the country, I am presenting some information.

In 1962, there were 2,15,000 primary societies. They had a membership of 195.6 lakh. There are 387 central banks and 21 state banks, with a working capital of about 930 crore. As regards marketing societies, there are 3,108 primary societies—131 central and 18 state societies. With reference to mortgage banks, the available information tells us that there were 535 primary banks with a membership of 8,50,000 and a working capital of Rs. 38.40 crore. Capital of Rs. 61.72 crore was invested in 18 central land mortgage banks. There are credit societies, housing societies, consumer cooperatives, industrial cooperatives, women's cooperatives, transport cooperatives, etc.

The cooperative movement has not only expanded but it

has also been diversified.

While reviewing the position of the cooperative movement in India, it has been pointed out at times that there is a strong official influence in the cooperative movement. From time to time, efforts seem to have been made to minimize it but the problem still remains and to that extent the movement lacks spontaneity. It also seems that the cooperatives have not been able to make their full impact as yet on the economic life of the country. The movement will have to expand itself manifold and in addition to this, it will have to make special efforts to improve efficiency and quality of work of cooperative institutions. The leadership needs to be strengthened and citizens in large numbers need to be oriented and educated to the philosophy of cooperation and its importance in their lives. Climate has to be created in the movement so that large number of citizens not only vigorously participate in cooperative institutions and derive benefits from them but effectively play a role in managing them. Whatever may be the limitations of the cooperative institutions, there is the bright side of it all.

I shall only give one quotation from the report of Shri B.G. Verghese of the Times of India News Service. Often Shri Verghese goes round the country and writes series of articles. This year they were serialised under the caption "India this year 1964". The fifth article of this series was on the Kaira District Cooperative Milk Producers' Union. He writes :

"When technical skill is added to organisation in a dedicated combination, there is nothing it cannot achieve. This is the experience of the Kaira District Cooperative Milk Producers' Union, Anand, better known as Amul, the brand name of its many products that are now familiar in countless homes up and down the country.

"The union started with a handful of members in two village milk producing societies, pasturising 500 pounds of milk for the Bombay city milk scheme in 1948. Today it comprises of 274 societies with a membership of 64,000 from whom it will have collected 150 million pounds of liquid milk in 1963-64 and processed it into butter, cream, ghee, powdered milk, baby food, casein and cheese with an anticipated turnover,

including liquid milk sales, of Rs. 6 crore". One only wishes that this spirit permeates the whole cooperative movement in India.

### *Cultural and Recreational Activities*

Now let us see the position in the field of cultural and recreational activities. In this field we do not have detailed studies, and information is not available on an all-India scale. One could, however, say that there is tremendous activity undertaken by the citizens and by citizen-groups in this field. They are getting together, raising funds, facing difficulties and solving problems that arise and have not much grumbled about lack of the state interest or absence of adequate grants. These groups find their patrons amongst their beneficiaries and donors. Some state supported activity is there, but its problems are the problems of a minority programme. When one sees activities of cultural groups one sees signs of a kind of a new renaissance. Leisure and unused energy is harnessed far and wide in this field. Lectures, study groups, clubs, dramas, music clubs, dance programmes, games and recreation, sports, picnics, holidays, travels, libraries, literary activities are undertaken on a large scale through voluntary efforts.

### *Professional Associations*

Professional associations are also coming into being. The various professions are organising themselves with a view not only to protecting their interests but improving standards both of education and work in relation to the respective professions. Engineers, accountants, architects, town and country planners, men of medicine, lawyers, social workers, scientific workers, teachers, etc., have their associations. As days go by, these groups should play their role in improving standards of life in the country.

### *Education and Health*

This brings us to the fields of Education and Health. Many schools for education on western lines were started in

the 19th century primarily through voluntary effort. They either were supported by philanthropists or stood as monuments to the sacrifices made by some powerful leaders with vision and their followers. These schools had the support of local communities both in founding and maintaining. A tremendous amount of work has been done by voluntary organisations in the field of pre-primary, primary, secondary, higher education and research and it is well-known.

During the last 40 to 50 years, a good deal of work is being done in the field of pre-primary education in spite of difficulties, by volunteers and voluntary groups. The state attitude in relation to this effort varies from State to State. It is reflected in the sizable grants, token grants and no grants and in the rates of the grants sanctioned. What is expected of the government is the awareness of the need, appreciation of the effort put in by voluntary organisations, continued interest in the subject and in the work of voluntary organisations and a steady and stable assistance whatever may be its percentage.

In free India, the state has accepted responsibility for free and universal education up to the age of 14. The state is also playing a major role in making funds available for primary, secondary, technical and higher education, its expansion and its diversification. Some resources are available to improve working conditions of teachers. But in the field of secondary and higher education, a large amount of work is being done by voluntary organisations of our description even today.

The role of private enterprise in the field of education according to the Education Commission (1966) 'varies from area to area and also from one stage or sector of education' to another. To have an idea of the voluntary contribution in this cause, it is useful to see the Table on page 31 reproduced from the Commission's Report.

The Commission has dealt with problems arising out of this contribution, its quality and made certain recommendations. This is not the place to debate the subject in detail. We may, however, note the volume of voluntary contribution and its areas of interest. It is also not necessary to agree with all that the Commission has said in this context. I think it will be worthwhile to assess the value of the assets of agencies so working, their annual contribution in cash and kind, and other benefits



that flow from their activities. Tangible and intangible value of this effort will run into a large sum and I am sure into crores. These educational organisations have been further able

*"TABLE 18. 1. Percentage of non-governmental educational institutions to total number of educational institutions (1960-61)."*

<i>State</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Stage or Sector</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Andhra Pradesh	8.0	1. Pre-Primary	70.9
2. Assam	19.1	2. Lower Primary	22.2
3. Bihar	74.0	3. Higher Primary	27.1
4. Gujarat	36.0	4. Secondary	69.2
5. Jammu and Kashmir	1.7	5. Vocational Schools	57.4
6. Kerala	61.6	6. Special Schools	79.0
7. Madhya Pradesh	4.6	7. Institutions for Higher (general) Education	78.8
8. Madras	33.0	8. Colleges for Professional Education	49.8
9. Maharashtra	48.0	9. Colleges, for special Education	7.1
10. Mysore	34.3		
11. Orissa	65.3		
12. Punjab	7.4		
13. Rajasthan	3.5		
14. Uttar Pradesh	14.5		
15. West Bengal	36.3		
Total for India	33.2	Total for India	33.2"

to establish a fairly satisfactory work relationship with the state, despite the stresses and strains of the changing times. In many details the relationship between the state before 1947 and the state after 1947 and the voluntary organisations in this field, has undergone modifications. On the whole, however, voluntary organisations in this area have been able to maintain their voluntary character and yet secure better assistance from the state than other voluntary organisations. The storm of changes might have shaken some of them but they did not give way. They seem to have found their moorings in the new situation. Many details of this relationship have also been worked out in detail.

Once voluntary organisations played their role predominantly as pioneers and then on the lines of 'parallel bar' theory, they supplemented the work done by governmental services. This role they still continue to play in the field of secondary and higher education as well as in the field of research. But to what extent they are discharging their functions under the 'extension ladder' theory, one does not know. How much government would have spent if there was no voluntary effort? What is the size of resources raised in men, money and material for this work through voluntary action? What is the size of the grants-in-aid given by the Government compared to the total costs incurred on services organised and run through voluntary action? We have no definite answers. Looking to the size of resources involved the answers are worth finding.

To bring out the role of voluntary action in the field of education, and contribution voluntary action has made in the past and it is making today, in this field, it is enough to read to you a paragraph from the pamphlet titled, 'Scheme of Assistance to Voluntary Educational Organisations, Government of India (1961)':

"Voluntary educational organisations have played a significant role in the development of education in India. Their main assets are the capacity (a) to enlist the services of devoted educators; (b) to tap private financial resources for the development of education; and (c) to work out educational experiments due partly to the personnel they can command and partly to the greater academic and administrative freedom they ordinarily enjoy."

This paragraph actually lists up the virtues and strength of the voluntary organisations in the field of education. "Their main handicap is the inadequacy of financial resources available and this inadequacy is increasing continually because private charity is being spread thinly over an ever-increasing number of voluntary organisations."

To me, this appraisal does not seem hackneyed or hypocritical. The tribute paid is genuine. In suggesting help, there is no sense of patronage or superiority. Sources are not

reported to be drying up as we usually hear people say but being spread thinly over larger area. I may, however, admit that some of the old sources have really dried up. But new springs could be tapped.

If there were, and I am sure there would be, a similar scheme for giving assistance in the Ministry of Health, the Government of India's evaluation of the services rendered by voluntary organisations in the field of health and their approach to them would have been or would be the same. How one wishes that like the information one gets about the contribution made by private enterprise in the field of education, information was available in relation to the field of public health and health services. This is about the two major social services. No area of activity could be entirely free from problems. But voluntary action in the areas of education and health appears to be faring well.

Before we proceed further with the review of voluntary organisations providing social and social welfare services, let me put before you views of some of our leaders on voluntary action in the field of social welfare services.

### *Leaders Speak*

Smt. Indira Gandhi, while inaugurating the 9th Annual Conference of Chairmen of State Social Welfare Boards in Delhi, in November 1963, said :

“I am, however, unhappy over a trend which has been very obvious in the past few years. *Voluntary work has gone down* in recent years. The impetus in the people and the urge with voluntary workers to give their time and energy has diminished which is a sad fact. It is not that the need for voluntary work has in any way diminished. In fact, the *voluntary effort*, if available, *would be needed at all times for implementation of welfare schemes*. I would urge those concerned with the implementation of programmes to go into this aspect and those interested in the work to give their time and services with a sense of devotion.”

Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, member of the Planning Commission, made a reference to Voluntary Action and its position on two occasions. I would not read out the full extracts but I would invite your attention to the points he made. Dr. Rao complained that voluntary organisations did not show the dynamism which they showed many years ago. Most probably the reference was to pre-Independence days.

Then there is an observation that urges us to analyse causes that were responsible for the drying up of the spring of dedication. "I would urge the workers, the chairmen and members of State Boards, as also those concerned with the planning of welfare services to *analyse the causes* leading to this unhappy trend" added Dr. Rao.

### *Mid-term Appraisal*

As against this I would like to read a small paragraph from the mid-term appraisal of the Third Plan. It reads: "A notable feature revealed by a scrutiny of the implementation of the social welfare programmes shows a higher degree of utilisation in the case of programmes which involve mainly voluntary organisations as opposed to programmes which are directly administered by Governmental agencies".

It is pointed out here that the voluntary agencies and the funds allotted to voluntary agencies have done better than the programmes for which Government were directly responsible.

Now we will take for detailed study areas in which social welfare services operate.

Voluntary action in India in early days got concentrated in the field of education, health and social reform. Emergency relief was another area where there was spontaneous effort on a large scale. We still remember the tragedies of Bihar (1933) and Quetta (1935) earthquakes and the great famine that was there in Bengal (1943) and the heroic voluntary effort made by people to bring relief to people involved in those and similar tragedies.

Organised and individual voluntary action made a small beginning by providing services and institutions for the needy in a recognisably new way in the second quarter of the 19th century.

*Sectarian : Cosmopolitan*

The organisations that came into being at this time were sectarian as well as cosmopolitan. These organisations were motivated by the desire of self-preservation. They helped members of their group and worked for mitigating adverse effects of foreign rule in some areas and thus for strengthening the Indian society. Within the society these organisations were more interested in the handicapped members of groups like castes, language groups, religious groups, etc.

Very good work is to the credit of voluntary action in the field of education, health, social reform, creation of public opinion, and general community education, resulting in the change of outlook of the people.

*Sectarianism*

In the field of education, health, social welfare services, housing, etc., there are sectarian and non-sectarian organisations of varying descriptions. We have noticed this earlier. The organisations motivated purely by philanthropy and humanitarian principles were also in the field. Philanthropic organisations, however, did not derive their major inspiration primarily from the limited purpose of self-defence which was visible to an extent in sectarian organisations. The advent of Independence has not affected such organisations much. They can, however, function in greater freedom today, in the service of their objectives.

Sectarian organisations were started to protect the interests of and serve the members of particular groups. Some of the services they organised got thrown open to all. Nevertheless, they had primarily selected a limited area for their work and were mostly closed groups so far as their organisational pattern and clientele were concerned.

Many people think that while the ideals of humanitarianism and philanthropy were alright, ultimately they were to be practised nearer home. Activities were evidently, therefore, restricted to smaller and familiar groups. In these circumstances, it was not much wrong if people took a limited view and helped the people with whom they had affinity. In the days when there was resurgence and action had to be started, the

only organised groups available were based on religion, castes, sub-castes, language, etc. So the action got organised on sectarian lines. You may reorganise this work differently today but you must understand the existing phenomenon in its current historical perspective.

The point, however, remains that while these activities could be organised for the local community on secular lines, sectarian activity recognises smaller groups in the community and serves them.

### *The Constitution and Other Laws*

Since Independence, one of our major achievements in India has been the framing and adoption of the Constitution. The Preamble, Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy form a very important part of the Indian Constitution. In the present day society, a good deal of work could be done to bring various freedoms that flow from these provisions in the Constitution and the variety of other laws, within the reach of a large number of citizens. From this point of view, a number of voluntary organisations could have come into being in the post-Independence era. Dr. D.K. Karve once started a Society for the Promotion of Human Equality. Then he closed it, also. But there is a need, if I may say so, today, to start a society for popularising the practice of human equality. While it is true that some new organisations have come up, one cannot say that there has been a careful study of relevant areas needing vigorous action on the part of voluntary organisations, for planning appropriate voluntary action. There was room for many more new organisations and reorganisation and reconstitution of old ones. The Constitution provides plenty of scope for voluntary organisations to work for bringing values it upholds within reach of citizens. It gives legal sanction and backing for voluntary action which needs to be fully utilised.

### *Resources*

This brings us to the question of resources. It is not known as I have indicated earlier what assets stand in the name of voluntary organisations throughout the country. No one can

give State level or national level estimates of their annual incomes or expenditures, either. No one can say with any precision anything about the purposes on which the expenditures are incurred. As we are aware, there are secular organisations as well as what may be called sectarian organisations. In the sectarian group we may include organisations run by religious groups, cultural groups, language groups and similar ones. On a rough conservative impressionistic estimate I can say that assets of all voluntary organisations engaged in a variety of activities for social welfare would be worth more than a thousand crore of rupees. Much will depend, however, on the nature of definition of an agency for social welfare. Besides, it might be necessary to separate funds for religious purposes from funds for charitable and other purposes. Some information on which the above estimate is based, I will put before you. The report of the Hindu Religious Endowment Commission, reports of the Waqf Boards, then the Directories published by the Charity Commissioner of the former Bombay State have much information which is not widely known. I will give you the figures that I have come across, in relation to Trusts and Charities in the 13 districts of Maharashtra, by way of illustration.

<i>Assets</i>	(in crores)
Value of Land and Buildings	Rs. 47.5
Public Securities	Rs. 32.3
Other investments	Rs. 28.2
	-----
Total	Rs. 108.0
	-----

This means the assets of voluntary organisations *i.e.*, trusts and charities, both for religious and charitable purposes, amount to Rs. 108 crore just in 13 districts. Their annual income, it is reported, is Rs. 10.34 crore. Out of Rs. 10.34 crore annual income, these trusts and charities spend on religious objectives only Rs. 0.60 crore, and on charitable objects Rs. 4.89 crore. The rest of the income is ploughed back into the corpus. The position of Waqf assets, annual incomes and expenditures is

not known on an all-India basis. It was reported that in the 11 districts of the Andhra Pradesh which formerly were in the State of Madras, there were 3,522 Waqfs with a property evaluation of Rs. 4.55 crore and annual income of Rs. 11.60 lakh.

It is, however, proper to say that detailed estimate of the assets, annual incomes and annual expenditures of all these organisations, needs to be attempted. It seems that such studies will reveal the size of the contribution of citizens towards voluntary organisations particularly for other than purely religious purposes and funds available for work required to be done for the welfare of the community. Knowledge of these facts will lead to better planning of and better returns on these community resources.

### *New Tasks and New Trends*

Let us now, if we could draw some inferences about voluntary action in the Indian setting in relation to the points that have arisen so far. Democracy, Welfare State, and Socialism in the Indian setting, are more of ideals and less of realities. So the support that voluntary action receives from these ideologies and institutions is naturally limited. On the contrary voluntary action has to play an important role in helping them in their development. Voluntary action needs time to develop and expand itself. Voluntary action in India has grown under variety of pressures and handicaps and this has left some gaps and weaknesses in it. Before voluntary action could mature it was faced with the crisis of leadership. Many who engaged themselves in voluntary action took to full time political career after Independence. It was at this critical time voluntary action was called upon to expand its activities far and wide in the post-Independence era. Voluntary action, therefore, suffered certain severe setbacks. Voluntary organisations were tempted to take up work in many areas and accept all available programmes, whether they had the resources in men and material or not. With this sudden expansion without adequate preparation, set in deterioration of quality in their work. This happened when there was acute concern for standards. Voluntary organisations were expected to understand



the existing situation, and causes of the present day malady and remedy them. Better administration and professionalisation of full time key posts they could not delay but they said they had no resources and did not attend to these tasks. They did not have before them detailed analysis of social situation in the country. Whatever knowledge was available in this behalf was not effectively used. They had to rid themselves of their weaknesses and to work in specific areas so that the freedom that had accrued to people became increasingly real.

### *Measuring by Points*

Voluntary action in India has not been able to play its full role as a power-breaker or as a safety-valve as we described it in yesterday's talk. This function, it could not perform most probably, because it got caught up with purposes and programmes in which it could not achieve much owing to limitations. The quest for democratic participation by the citizens continues. The present size and manner in which voluntary organisations are functioning do not provide enough opportunities for a large section of people to participate in voluntary action in a democratic manner and have a sense of fulfilment as is so necessary. They have not been able to attract all the people interested in constructive work and develop channels for people's enthusiastic participation. People also do not seem to be enthusiastic to do things for themselves and for others, voluntarily.

### *Isolated, therefore, Weak*

There are quite a few organisations, agencies, institutions, and they could be numbered at least in hundreds, if not in thousands, that are respecting the philosophy, the traditions, the methods of voluntary action and are doing good work. Most of them are functioning at the local level. They are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country and they do not always form a part of national awareness. People do not know enough about these organisations which are practising sound voluntary action. Not having links among themselves, they also feel isolated, and their workers lonely and depressed. Because of their isolation they are comparatively weak in their

influence on the policies and programmes drawn up by the Governments. They have also not succeeded in giving the people a feel of direct democracy. They do make local life richer in a limited way but since their actions are fragmented and spread over a variety of fields, and are scattered over large geographical areas, they do not seem to meet needs in a sizable way and make visible impact on the life of the community. It is fashionable to say that they are doing some good work. But one notices less emphasis on the quality of the service rendered by them. This may be because their energies are sapped in some other activities. Lack of funds, rise in prices are the points usually raised when any question of raising standards of service is opened with them. It is not realised that lack of will could be one of the many causes. People forget that will finds way. These very people in personal life and some times in other areas of life, work wonders without resources by being resourceful. Imagination, resourcefulness, innovations, and vision could be used here as well. In the early days, voluntary organisations worked as pioneers. Of late, even the virtues of pioneers are comparatively less visible. It cannot be said that voluntary organisations have been working as vigorous pioneers, at present. Voluntary organisations also seem to have settled down in certain areas in grooves and when time comes for them to move on, it appears that they are reluctant to abide by their own philosophy of going in search of new needs and by the discipline of voluntary action.

### *Structural Weaknesses*

Structurally, voluntary organisations have severe weaknesses, particularly those in the field of social welfare services. While the Government has repeatedly invoked help from voluntary organisations, paid tribute to them for the little work they did and wished them to be active over a larger area, some of its actions have given the impression to voluntary organisations and volunteers, which were not very conducive to the growth of voluntary action. Lord Beveridge has said : "It is not correct to praise voluntary effort and to frustrate it by not creating conditions favourable for its growth." Something like this appears to have happened in India.

Voluntary action must, in the good sense of the phrase, be "restive and restless". Indian voluntary action must be constantly on the move in search of new areas, facing new problems. It should never think of settling down in one place, if some one was willing to look after and continue the work it had developed. During the last 30 or 40 years, very few new experiments have been undertaken by voluntary action. This is painful.

### *Educating People*

Voluntary organisations have not been discharging their responsibilities as educators of the people, on important matters related to social problems and implications of national policies for social welfare. I take only one example. See this letter in *The Times of India* of yesterday (24th February, 1964).

"Sir : Your comments (February 6) regarding the deliberations of the All-India Conference on Moral and Social Hygiene, which recently concluded in Hyderabad, and your suggestion for the need for amending the existing Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Children Act, are really commendable.

The question of amending this Act was debated in December, 1959 in the Rajya Sabha. During the discussions some of our elder statesmen vehemently opposed the inclusion in the Act of the words 'singing and dancing' on the plea that ancient Indian arts of singing and dancing and other connected cultural activities would be wiped off from our country. The result of their concern for these ancient Indian arts is today well-known to social workers ! A purposeful social measure has become ineffective and the exploitation of women continues in the name of 'singing and dancing'."

Bombay, Feb. 10.

Sd/- . .

It does not behove volunteers and voluntary organisations to throw up their hands in helplessness. Why there couldn't be meetings all over the country ? Why there were no efforts to answer the points raised by the members in Parliament ? Not that the letter writer is all in the right. Social legislation is difficult to draft. It takes time. It needs a country wide debate to bring out the various subtle points. At the time of Hindu

Code Bill, women all over the country almost created a movement in support of the Bill. Today only a few platform protests and some private whisperings are heard on such issues like the one raised by the letter writer. Why these causes are remaining unchampioned for years ?

The creative turbulence to which we referred yesterday, and which occasionally shows itself up, one cannot say, has been fully utilised or properly channelised through constructive work. There are fewer people who come forward to start new services and new organisations. The services of the organisations that are existing are not so managed as would improve quality of service and help them expand, fast. All along one hears defence of inaction which incidentally results in supporting stagnation and *status quo*.

The people guided by business motivation have also entered the field of social welfare services and some of them, who started from scratch, are reported to have built big institutions and have also succeeded in solving some of their personal problems. Incidentally, most of these people meet conditions of Grants-in-Aid very intelligently and well !

### *Panchayati Raj and Voluntary Action*

We have the Panchayati Raj around us. We have an obligation to strengthen local action through citizen groups, to ensure dynamic and flexible social programmes responsive to the needs of all groups of the population and to press forward the frontiers of social policy through voluntary action. The real dangers in this generation are the big and far away government, the big organisation, policies and issues which are or seem to be too complicated for the ordinary citizen and the resulting passivity, failure to exercise democratic prerogatives and acceptance of things as they are. People have to be helped to help themselves with the co-operation of public services. This must be kept in view particularly in relation to voluntary action in *rural areas* where Panchayati Raj has been ushered in. All work in the absence of voluntary action in this area will be concentrated in the Panchayat institutions if deliberate efforts were not made to promote voluntary action, there.

Because of paucity of resources and other reasons, the

programme of Panchayati Raj institutions, it seems, will endeavour to provide minimum civic amenities and emphasise implementation of programmes of economic development. It is, however, encouraging to find, in the relevant enactments, mention of the following items in relation to functions entrusted to these institutions: secondary, industrial and elementary schools; compulsory primary education; pre-primary education; re-organisation of private educational institutions; social education; maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries; public health and rural sanitation; medical relief; preventive and remedial measures connected with epidemics; family planning; maternity and child welfare; rural housing; welfare of Backward Classes; maintenance of students' hostels; programmes for social welfare services, child welfare activities; maintenance of poor houses. Panchayati Raj institutions, because of pressing demands made on them and because of inadequate resources, might not be able to do or even undertake much meaningful and sizable work in relation to these items. Additional organisational and financial resources will, therefore, be needed if we were not to be contended with whatever services we get on the basis of officially available resources. This would be the work of voluntary organisations under the circumstances. They are, however, not developed in rural areas. Besides, there is a general feeling that government should do everything once taxes are paid. One more point is made while explaining lack of enthusiasm for voluntary organisations. And that is that the Panchayati Raj institutions function locally and are managed by elected representatives of the people and they are, therefore, as good as voluntary agencies. Those who understand nature of voluntary action and the role voluntary organisations can play, will not accept this as an excuse for not recognising and promoting voluntary organisations in rural areas. After all, Panchayati Raj institutions are a part of the Government and they also suffer from influences of political parties which might not be always conducive to welfare work. Voluntary organisations will further procure a variety of resources and cover areas of needed action which would remain uncovered if the Panchayati Raj institutions alone tried to manage the work.

Some official welfare programmes have developed through the efforts of Community Development personnel, the emissaries

of the Central Social Welfare Board and the Tribal Development Block administrations, etc. They need consolidation. But being the first in rural world there was a danger of things being directly done under the governmental auspices utterly neglecting promotion of voluntary effort. It will be said that voluntary agencies should do this work but in reality the work would be expected to wait till governmental agencies found time and resources to take it up. Such an eventuality needs to be avoided.

### *Municipal Government and Voluntary Action*

Like Panchayati Raj in the rural areas, we have municipal governments in urban areas. Here there is an opportunity to realise participative democracy. Voluntary organisations thrive at local level. Municipal governments and voluntary organisations are temperamentally best suited to work together.

In India, 18 per cent of the population lives in urban areas. In absolute numbers 9 crore or 90 million Indian citizens live in about 2,700 urban areas. These include communities, as small as with 5,000 population, as well as agglomerations of communities with 30, 40, 50 lakh population. Development of voluntary associations in all these urban areas, for historical and other socio-economic reasons, has been uneven. It must also be remembered that voluntary organisations have grown more in urban areas than in rural areas. Besides, they are more in some urban centres than others. Municipal governments have to know more about voluntary agencies in areas under their jurisdiction and their potential uses. Voluntary organisations can raise resources voluntarily and supplement services that local authorities provide but not in adequate measures for want of resources. They can thus make their contribution to make urban life richer. Cooperation between voluntary organisations and municipal authorities in towns and cities has to be consciously promoted. It is a painful, laborious and tricky process but we shall have to engage ourselves in it.

In urban areas there are voluntary agencies which could be listed as follows: societies running day schools, night schools, pre-primary schools, literacy classes and those doing citizen education work ; societies running hospitals, dispensaries,

sanatoria, nutritive food distribution centres; societies organising recreational and cultural activities; consumer co-operatives, co-operative housing societies; professional associations of doctors, lawyers, teachers and other professionals; property holders' associations, tenants' associations, market stall holders' associations; traders' associations; transport users' associations, market associations; slum dwellers' associations; societies for prevention of cruelty to animals; societies helping needy men, women, children suffering from social, economic, and mental handicaps; language group associations, etc. This list is only illustrative but not exhaustive.

The voluntary associations listed above can broadly be grouped under four heads:

- (1) Those of philanthropic type;
- (2) those of interests protecting type;
- (3) those of trade union type; and
- (4) miscellaneous.

These various voluntary organisations are managed by citizen groups organised voluntarily for achieving certain specific goals. The goals of these agencies could be dovetailed into the goals of municipal government for achieving administrative efficiency, for extending services, for providing additional services needed but which have low priority on agenda of municipal governments and in resource allocation; and finally, for using organised manpower in times of emergency.

One major question arises here. Are we to encourage formation of such organisations and strengthen the existing similar ones? The answer is 'yes'. Our fear of organised groups has been responsible for the neglect and non-use of these forces and their resources. To keep them continuously constructively busy is a challenge and municipal government has to take it up if municipal administration and life in municipal areas are to change their character and quality and meet the needs of citizens in modern times, better.

At the city and town levels also voluntary organisations will act as power breakers. They will prevent concentration of power in few hands. Besides, as the needs change the goals of voluntary organisations can be restated with less difficulty, to

meet the needs of the community.

When voluntary associations develop adequately and come into their own as equal vigorous partners of municipal governments in providing needed services and create a climate supportive to municipal administration, life in our urban area would change and if not all at least some of the 'Shri' (grace) which Rabindranath Tagore felt our villages had lost, would come to our towns and cities which had also lost it.

It is, therefore, suggested that all municipal governments may look into these additional assets available in voluntary organisations and have some arrangements in their administrative machinery to identify, to promote, to assist voluntary associations engaged in programmes benefiting local communities, and to secure support from voluntary associations in their work. This goal cannot be achieved by just giving token grants or dealing with voluntary agencies through public relations departments or treating them as public relations matter. Where urban community development departments have been set up on right lines, they may do this work but elsewhere some administrative arrangement may have to be made.

Some platform for continuous consultation between voluntary associations and Municipal Governments may also have to be created.

There are many bright spots in the history and the current situation in relation to voluntary action. The spirit and role of voluntary organisations, however, is required to be understood by the leaders in all walks of life and by the people, in general. A large number of leaders need to be trained for voluntary action in the spirit of the preamble of the Constitution of the Servants of India Society written by Prof. G.K. Gokhale, which stresses the need 'to train national missionaries for the service of India'.



### III

## Some Comparisons and Conclusions

In the first talk we saw the philosophy and nature of voluntary action. We searched for and found justification for voluntary action to continue in developing societies building a democratic, socialistic, welfare state. In the second talk we reviewed the situation in relation to voluntary action in India, within certain limitations

We shall now have some information on the experiences of the U.K., the U.S.A., Scandinavian countries and Yugoslavia and see what lessons these experiences have for us. In the end, we will attempt some conclusions. These conclusions might provide the basis for further study of the subject and action.

As I read the relevant reviews of conditions in the U.K. and the U.S.A., I realised some important points. These countries went through some of the experiences through which we in India are going, now. We, therefore, see a certain amount of similarity in situations and in the solutions and institutions that developed in response to the situations in those countries. We also partly see in them solutions to some of our problems. I may not be able to make the reviews comprehensive, but I am sure that you will, as you hear me, see similarities in the situations and, at least, find some tentative answers too, to our situation.

I would also like to say again that the countries whose names I mentioned earlier have been developing voluntary action over centuries. While picking up important traits in the development of these countries I have kept our immediate requirements in view.

*The U.K.*

In the U.K., conditions created by the Industrial Revolution contributed to the evolution, and wide-spread application of the concepts of democracy, socialism and welfare state. In those days, economic development was taking place in the *laissez-faire* atmosphere. This created conditions which amounted to social misery and unhappiness and for regulating them there was no machinery. The Church and people with social conscience and sense of social responsibility stood up and refused to be passive witnesses to the situation. Guided by desire for philanthropy, and mutual aid, they started work voluntarily for the amelioration of the conditions. They agitated for human approach to economic development; they created public opinion, they started institutions and services and worked for improving the contemporary social life. The public opinion they created brought pressure on Parliament and gradually, the state was persuaded to intervene. This decision on the part of the state, to intervene, was responsible for a variety of social legislation, aiming at amelioration of social conditions. The trade unions, the religious groups, the humanitarians did pioneering work in relieving the stresses and strains which arose in the wake of the industrial revolution. It was pointed out that "in the arithmetic of woe they can only add or multiply, one cannot subtract or divide". There was constant effort to invite attention of people to the sore spots of contemporary society and to initiate action. So voluntary organisations in the U.K. were responsible for providing certain services, for bringing pressure on the Parliament and for building up appropriate public opinion.

Side by side with the services provided by voluntary organisations, statutory services evolved. They were guided by the experience of voluntary organisations. As the statutory services continued to develop, the voluntary organisations who discovered new needs, moved on to new areas. They not only cooperated with the statutory services in the areas in which they started work but continued their activities 'beyond the boundaries of the State activities'. The two World Wars extended the coverage of citizens by the statutory services. The gap between the rich and the poor narrowed down. Services were used irrespective of the fact whether the citizens were rich or poor. Many of the

emergency services were meant for all. Bombs did not make a difference between the rich and the poor, it was said. When during the war people were bombed, the needs of the rich and the poor were more or less the same and the feeling grew that if dangers were to be shared, why not share resources ?

The variety of interventions from the state ultimately resulted in levelling up and levelling down. The state provided a floor as well as a ceiling and a large number of people came to be benefited by statutory social services. As the state activities expanded, voluntary organisations became the agents and the auxiliaries for some of the state programmes, but they also continued their functions as independent organisations working for breaking new grounds. They showed the way for more reforms. Voluntary organisations and volunteers continued to be far-sighted. There have been in these transitional times some resentments, some recrimination, some fears but ultimately it was realised that the state and the voluntary agencies had to work together as partners. They had to co-exist. They then established a new relationship. The responsibility for material relief, to a great extent, was taken over by the state. The operation of universal services became the responsibility of the state.

In the process, the aims and objects, methods and ways of organising voluntary organisations changed. For some time, voluntary organisations which faced new problems in the post-Second World War period looked confused and confounded. Opportunities for voluntary action in the new situation could not be quickly grasped. Even now, it seems, they are still not fully understood. In the new setting, voluntary organisations had to work for improving quality of life, for improving methods of work and for tackling problems other than those of a material kind.

Many of the organisations thought it appropriate to amalgamate or to form themselves into federations. They started working together. They learned to speak with a common voice, with a view to influencing the official policies. The evolution of the National Council of Social Service in the U.K. and its present programmes tell a story, which is almost a history. Some of the organisations succumbed under the strain of the changing conditions. And this, one sees happening in India. Some doggedly continued to cling to the worn-out ideas, and carried on the work in the traditional way with dwindling

resources and less voluntary help. This phenomenon also one sees in India. There have been a number of researches, surveys, and good publications on this new situation. Exchange of information, evolution of machinery for cooperation and consultation among voluntary organisations and between voluntary organisations and the government were attempted.

As a result there has been a fair demarcation of the areas of work according to the 'parallel-bar' and the 'extension-ladder' theories. There are certain areas in which, it is understood, the state should not undertake activities but support work of voluntary organisations. There is an increase in membership of some organisations. This provided for a wider democratic citizen participation.

Much of the achievement in the U.K., in the field of social welfare, it is said, belongs to the efforts of volunteers and voluntary organisations. The voluntary organisations have rediscovered their role in the new setting and continue to make valuable contribution.

Once it was felt that with the state's increasing intervention, the days of voluntary action were numbered but 'the extraordinary power of survival of voluntary organisations in the face of the threats, was proved'.

In the U.K., it is realised that without personal and group effort on voluntary basis the welfare state will fade away.

As we have seen earlier, originally, voluntary organisations depended entirely on volunteers. In course of time, this practice underwent a change. Today in the U.K. almost all voluntary organisations employ salaried workers. They also make use of volunteers at various levels. There are salaried workers in statutory organisations. But voluntary workers also work for statutory organisations. Similarly, there are voluntary workers in voluntary organisations but they also engage a sizable number of salaried workers. Just as there has been demarcation of functions in the areas of work between voluntary organisations and government departments or agencies, so in voluntary organisations and governmental agencies the areas of work and functions to be performed by volunteers and professionals or the salaried are fairly well understood. Difficulties, however, do arise.

Occasionally points are made doubting the ability of volun-

tary action. Some of the points made are interesting. There is an element of truth in them. Voluntary organisations work on a small scale. They have limited resources. They are unstable since they flourish and decay soon. They cannot be depended upon for steady work. They are ill-equipped, under-staffed, sweat their employees and are less efficient. The non-officials have nothing very substantial to recommend them and that they were dubious assets. With all this criticism of voluntary organisations in the U.K. it is realised that the present-day society would be in a deplorable condition if all voluntary action ceased.

This very society in the U.K. realises also the strong points of voluntary action. Voluntary organisations, it thinks, meet the needs which the statutory services cannot meet for years to come. Voluntary organisations are flexible in their approach and organisation. They can work on ill-diagnosed needs or with unproved methods. They could undertake sorting out of controversial matters. They could always promote mutual aid schemes with a little help in the early stages from outside. In a democratic society, citizens should be active. Their interest in public affairs should be widespread. Voluntary organisations provide opportunities for active citizens.

According to one of the latest publications, it seems that there is also increasing dependence on the Government there. The days of pure voluntary organisation by which we mean an organisation working absolutely independently, without state or local authority assistance of any kind, seem to have ended, apart from missions and such other social, religious and cultural organisations. Emphasis today is on partnership between the government and voluntary organisations. If this state of affairs continues longer and if voluntary agencies do not take care to protect their voluntary character and all the good things that go with it, they are likely to lose some of their distinguishing qualities and be more or less like government departments or their extensions. The state recognising the value of the work of voluntary organisations, helps them to play their part. The partnership arrangement, however, is possible only if there is mutual confidence and faith among the state and voluntary organisations, in the free association of its citizens serving good causes voluntarily.

The state being the stronger of the two partners' it is the

state which has to take extraordinary care in protecting voluntary organisations and their character. Here is a lesson which India can learn. State will have not only to promote but protect voluntary action and help it function voluntarily. It should not do anything which would affect it adversely. On the contrary it should create a climate in which voluntary action could thrive. Over-reliance of voluntary agencies on grants-in-aid, it is feared, may make independence of thought and action, which is the very essence of voluntary action, increasingly difficult.

It is also feared that both the state and voluntary organisations can be stereotyped in their attitude towards original thinkers and thus opportunities for social advance may be lost.

Here is a very good assessment of the experience in the U. K. "... From the time of the Elizabethan Poor Law, accompanied by the Statute of Charitable Uses (ensuring the proper employment of voluntary resources) to the extensive series of public services established after the Second World War, public responsibility has always included, as a parallel consideration, the appropriate role for voluntary action. On the contemporary welfare scene the partnership between public and voluntary service takes many forms : (And this is equally important from our point of view. Voluntary bodies may be responsible for a total service or part of the total service sponsored by the public authorities. As we have seen, it is not necessary for the state to assume direct responsibility for the management of very many services like the social services or social welfare services). Frequently these are the services which would otherwise be undertaken by public agencies, but sometimes they are services outside the legal authority of the public body or not feasible for public administration. Voluntary bodies supplement the public programme, both qualitatively and quantitatively, when there are insufficient public resources. Voluntary organisations supplement public services for the purposes of increasing the flexibility or reducing the cost of the public programme. Voluntary societies may act as coordinating bodies bringing together voluntary and public services in specialised fields. Voluntary organisations may be responsible for setting standards and establishing

training programmes for public personnel. Voluntary personnel and funds may be applied directly to strengthen the public service. Finally, voluntary individuals and organisations influence public policy-making directly through accepting membership on public committees and indirectly through giving testimony at public hearings, undertaking research, preparing reports, providing citizen leadership, and even acting as a channel for the expression of opinion by public officials.

"In fact, in some programmes and in some areas, it is the government official (And I think, we have to underline these sentiments.) who is most conscious of the values of the voluntary contribution and who is most active in stimulating voluntary effort. From the British experience, there seems little evidence for the conclusion that the expansion of governmental activity necessarily results in diminution of voluntary participation. Frequently, the officials most conscious of their legal responsibilities are those who are also most diligent in encouraging voluntary activities. In fact, there is good reason to suggest that *the present level of voluntarism in England could not have been maintained without governmental interest and cooperation.* (Now you can appreciate the need for such action on the part of the state in a developing society.) Finally, it should also be noted that any static or traditional concept of structure or function of the voluntary services, or of their relationship with the public services has been an obstacle to the fullest development of voluntary potential."

### *The U.S.A.*

We now turn to the U. S. A. We will take a rapid survey of voluntary action in the social welfare field in the U.S.A. In America, as you are aware, the philosophy of individualism dominates. Another important thought that dominates American thinking is 'the less government we have, the better.' The field of social welfare is no exception to this way of thinking.

Welfare programme in the U.S.A. started much earlier in the American history. Special institutions both public and private in character were developed for the handicapped and

the mentally ill. Towards the poor, the attitude was, however, in moral terms. Many of the social problems which arose out of immigration, industrialisation, urbanisation, were taken up by humanitarian citizens. These programmes, however, continued to be highly moralistic.

The private agencies, as they call the voluntary agencies, in the U.S.A., were once manned by volunteers only. The 'Paid-worker' arrived on the scene much later.

Both the public and private agencies continue to serve the needy. In keeping with their individualism, and the 'less of government' attitude, the third idea was that of charity as the outgrowth of capital. Therefore, while voluntary organisations sympathised with labour, they were not against capital.

The social reformers motivated by the desire to improve living conditions of the masses, came up and private services continued to be strengthened and expanded. The growth of private agencies was rapid. Sponsors and volunteers continued to come from the upper classes. The American welfare agencies at the local level are very strong. This is another corollary of the 'less government, the better'. They also hate to see powers of the Federal Government extended.

In 1930 during the depression, the state came out with measures providing welfare services. There were controversies but they were accepted only as an emergency measure. This was followed by war and all the efforts to revert to the original situation proved ineffective. The public welfare programmes then came to exist side by side with the private organisations. The private agencies had also to meet the challenge of the changing social scene. They had to have critical self-examination, redefinition of their objectives, re-formulation of programmes. They undertook work in cooperation with other groups in the community interested in furthering human welfare. This was the beginning of greater cooperation and co-ordination.

Definition of relationship between private agencies and public agencies was not possible. It was, however, realised that both the types of services, private and public, were needed. Expansion of government services, far from reducing the need for private non-governmental services, added to the importance of and underscored the need for creating new ones. This



experience was similar to that in the U.K.

During the second world war, private agencies entered into closer cooperation with the government. Social policy of the days of depression, emphasising government's responsibility for the welfare of the people, was to stay and there was no longer a question of reversing it.

The growth of professionalism was another important feature of the American welfare world. Government's responsibility for the welfare of the citizen, growth of professionalism and the place of private agencies, were the three important factors in the situation.

As in England, voluntary action in the U.S.A. is characterised by 'free-will, impetus, choice, freedom from state control'. Volunteers are also used with a view to reducing the costs of the programmes. The question of relationship between private agencies and the state came up from time to time and though there was some kind of relationship, it has not the same strength of partnership as one comes across in the U.K.

Some make-shift, *ad hoc* solutions to new situations were always found with a desire to return to *status quo*, as early as possible.

So far as the role of volunteers is concerned, it may be said that they now work on the policy making level, raise funds, interpret agency objectives, do public relations of good causes and accept, as I mentioned earlier, sub-executive positions by doing specific jobs in the implementation of the programmes. In their search for appropriate role of volunteers, they wanted to know whether their role was of competitors or cooperators. They also realised the creative contribution that volunteers can make effectively even in the public welfare programmes. The importance of impartial, impersonal and technically competent service which had to be rendered to the citizens at large, through public services, since the state reconciled the conflicting elements in the society, as a supreme coordinator, was appreciated.

Community chest is another important feature of the American social welfare scene. This made the agencies anonymous recipients of assistance from anonymous public givers.

Voluntary organisations also provide opportunity for expression of goals, meaningful to individuals and groups. It is

realised that their 'looseness', 'diversity' are precious in the highly organised American society, but these were getting increasingly rare. While importance of voluntary action in other fields in public life is recognised, it is only in the field of social work that the question of democratic citizen participation mostly seems to arise. It is only in this area that a large number of volunteers volunteer to work, the focus of desire being service.

Having regard to the citizen participation, new areas like community organisation have developed in the field of social work. This enables citizen-groups to work out problems related to the community needs and services. In the U.S.A., it has also been realised that extending role of government, does not mean elimination of private agencies. On the contrary, there is an attempt to include voluntary effort in the public welfare planning in view of the various inherent values in voluntary action. These values are considered to be too essential to public life, to be kept to the haphazard discretion of public or private bodies.

In the U.S.A. they also consider it advisable to have some 'free-zones'. In these 'free-zones', voluntary action and voluntary participation are to be autonomous. It is felt that through this mechanism appropriate use of voluntary resources could be made. In view of the public accountability, however, no modification of public policy was considered appropriate to make special accommodation for voluntary action.

There is an interesting evaluation of the American scene, a recent one, and it almost reminds me of the situation in which we are caught up at present: "These voluntary efforts have been a constructive expression of the neighbourliness of our people and the sense of responsibility of localities for the social needs of their inhabitants. Recently, however, the assumption of responsibility for local problems by government has necessitated a re-appraisal by voluntary social welfare of its role. More important, perhaps, has been a growing realisation that social action by government is whittling away the functions of voluntary agencies.

"Increasingly our young people look to Washington, to their State capitals and their City Halls for leadership in social welfare. Many of our citizens hold the view that as govern-

ment agencies assume leadership in greater degree, the need for voluntary service correspondingly will decline. Eventually it is felt in some quarters that the voluntary agencies will wither away, leaving the field of social welfare to official agencies."

In spite of increasing governmental concern, the role of private agencies has not declined. It has changed. The private agencies perform essential services in the field of research, experimentation, initiation of new programmes, stimulation of community interest, plugging the gaps left by government, offering flexibility of service and assisting local communities to meet their unique problems in ways that cannot be undertaken by centrally administered—and this is particularly an American phenomenon—public services. In fact the role of the private organisations may have become even more important.

### *The Scandinavian Philosophy*

In the Scandinavian countries, the level to which social services have been developed and the relatively high degree of political unity with respect to the broadlines of social policies indicate that on the whole the people of the Northern European countries have found it in their interest to meet a rather large number of human needs through community action, although this has involved giving up an increasing share of their private incomes.

The programmes that are developed in Scandinavian countries are implemented both through government departments and agencies as well as through voluntary organisations. My personal impression is that of the two the statutory services carry a heavy burden.

I visited Yugoslavia ten years ago. The country I learnt has changed since then considerably and changed for the better. The new constitution has been promulgated in that country. Social services and social welfare services have been decentralised as mentioned to you earlier, which is the appropriate thing to do in relation to these services, and are put under the management of the people's committees at the local level. This is the level where these services need to be organised and can be organised most effectively. In place of people's or citizen's

committees of Yugoslavia, we may have, wherever possible, voluntary organisations. There, every citizen has a responsibility for public affairs and he is called upon to discharge it. In India, citizens interested in public affairs may participate in voluntary organisations. There citizen must; here if he wishes or if chooses. The experiment of direct social democracy within the national frame with the state as supreme coordinator and juridical authority in Yugoslavia, may be welcomed and its outcome may be watched with interest.

This brings us to the end of the brief review of situation in some other countries.

### *Conclusions*

1. It is necessary to know clearly the role of voluntary action in a developing society working towards a democratic socialistic welfare state. For this it is very essential that the all concerned and large sections of citizens should be educated in and for voluntary action. They must know what voluntary action means, what it can achieve and what responsibility the citizens have in relation to it. This need is there in all developing societies.

2. The next important thing is to explain to the people the need for their active cooperation and participation in and with the various social, social welfare and other services and programmes in the community. A citizen must look into the taxes he pays and the contributions he makes in cash and kind to the resources of voluntary organisations.

3. The difficulties generally experienced by voluntary agencies in relation to the funds, need to be studied and resolved. Partly funds for their work could come as we have seen, from the government at various levels and partly from the local contributions by beneficiaries, or would be beneficiaries, those who could afford and were interested in good causes, who were philanthropically motivated and such others. Besides, the programme of each voluntary organisation has its special appeal to certain sections and interests in the community and these sections and the interested people could also bring in some resources.

4. Voluntary agencies in general need to take positive attitude towards the Government. One of the major tasks ahead is, therefore, of modifying the old attitudes and of developing new helpful attitudes. This process needs to be initiated among the Government administration, volunteers, leaders, voluntary organisations, salaried and/or professional personnel and others. The country must take to positive ways of thinking and doing things on positive lines in an increasing measure. It is not government against voluntary organisations but government and voluntary organisations, together.

5. More and more voluntary action is needed in developing societies and responsibilities of voluntary action have increased and not diminished. It has to work—

- (i) to bring about diffusion of power;
- (ii) to give stability to the new social order by increasing areas of commonly accepted programme lifted above political party politics;
- (iii) to hold the society together;
- (iv) to ensure democratic participation of citizens;
- (v) to make local life richer;
- (vi) to release local resources;
- (vii) to work for social progress and the other objectives that we have mentioned earlier.

6. Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, they say, and vigilance needs to be exercised as much within the frontiers as across the frontiers. Much that we have inherited as a society has been created through efforts of volunteers and voluntary organisations. For its protection, maintenance and improvement, public opinion needs to be built and kept alive.

7. Public opinion, if intelligently built and handled, could secure correction in the state policies. It could support progressive policies; it could demand suitable legislative measures; it could bring pressure for keeping, both the representatives of government and leaders of voluntary action, on the right track. This work is important both from the point of view of democracy and development in the fields of social education, community development, economic development, building up and maintaining of community assets, action for promoting social and moral hygiene, correctional programmes, prevention

and treatment of various diseases, education, etc. A climate needs to be created in which voluntary developmental action in various walks of life would be comparatively easy.

8. Voluntary organisations can render valuable service by inviting attention of government to their unfulfilled duties. Government should look to the criticism of voluntary organisations in the manner in which Gandhiji took the criticism of late Shri Srinivasa Shastri. Gandhiji once wrote to Shri Shastri: "Your criticism soothes me. Your silence makes me nervous."

9. If the partnership between the state and voluntary organisations in the society is to work well, both the partners must respect each other. In the U.K. the Government before initiating action in any field, consults voluntary organisations of various descriptions, the professional organisations and the service organisations and develops programmes in consultation with them. As a result when the decision is announced in the Parliament, it has the implied consent of the organisations and the interests concerned. Voluntary organisations are naturally involved in the planning process at an early stage and if they are involved in a programme at the planning stage, they are in a better position to give their unstinted cooperation in the implementation of the programme. The question of surprises, shocks, controversies and taking hostile positions then does not arise.

10. Do's and don'ts for government and do's or don'ts for voluntary organisations could be listed from the indications given in the talks. It could be revised from time to time and carefully followed.

11. We are now in the middle of the Third Five Year Plan and it still seems that in the implementation of these plans, people have not participated adequately and with enthusiasm. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in a speech in Bombay, a few days ago, again referred to the need for enthusiastic participation by citizens in the development programmes. For the development programmes we should rally all our resources in men and material, voluntarily. That which is done in a totalitarian state by governmental orders has to be done in a democracy, voluntarily. This could only be done if the difficulties in the field of voluntary action are intelligently

understood and removed and volunteers, people in general, and voluntary organisations, work shoulder to shoulder with departments of the government, elected leaders, and officers of the Government. Then alone things will change and change for the better. In the absence of strong voluntary action, implementation of Plans would continue to suffer.

12. The subject of voluntary action in a developing society or in a developed society, is of perennial importance, but in the current Indian context it is crucial.

13. Voluntary agencies should take a quick look at themselves and their programmes. They could withdraw from certain areas, reorganise their programmes in certain other areas, consolidate their services and efforts elsewhere, close their ranks and work in a coordinated manner along with the government on each of 'the narrow part of the front', to use the phrase of Dr. W.W. Rostow.

14. Dedicated and disciplined workers and volunteers, supported by dedicated and professionally competent colleagues together should be able to help people join in voluntary action in a big way. It is the responsibility of volunteers to create enthusiasm among people for enthusiastically working for realising their aspirations. They are not to wait for the directives from the government, for they work because they realise the need. They have to start work on their own whenever and wherever they perceive the need.

15. In a traditional society or a society which is changing very slowly and imperceptibly, with all its limitations and hardships, it is comparatively easy to live. In a developing society with everything in flux with changing relationships, there is continuous realignment of forces or a struggle to secure balance of forces at progressive levels. Members of a traditional society, volunteers and voluntary organisations have to get used to speed, continuous change and acquire skills, strength and stamina necessary to live in and with change.

16. Domestic mobilisation of resources by the Government and the people for development must be attempted. The Government should create the frame through the Plans within which voluntary organisations could discharge their responsibilities. The need of citizens, citizen-groups and the Government working together, is never so great as in the early stage of faster

development. National planning is essential for developing societies. But without voluntary action, these plans will be crippled particularly when they are launched in a democratic political set-up.

17. Streamlining of administration of voluntary organisations, professionalisation of their administration at least at certain levels, federated structures, strong organisational machinery at the local level, are some of the things that should receive immediate attention at the hands of voluntary organisations.

Voluntary action is taking place on a sizable scale in India though its exact size is not known. Let us not, however, underestimate its size and contribution. There is leadership. The Constitution of the Republic of India gives full support and guarantees needed for voluntary action. Voluntary action should, however, be better oriented to its objectives and know its nature well. Conducive climate is necessary for it to grow and to make full contribution to the development of the Indian society. The state can create the necessary climate. Governments also need to understand philosophy and nature of voluntary action. Government's stand on voluntary action should be clearly stated in unequivocal terms and in their pronouncements and practice they should fully respect these principles. There should be a code of conduct in relation to voluntary action for the state and voluntary organisations and volunteers. Sectarianism must be helped to liquidate or delimit itself. Voluntary action should be involved in developmental planning and implementation of programmes in a big way, in the cooperative movement, in certain areas and aspects of education and health programmes, in recreational and cultural activities, in the work for the Backward Classes, other social welfare services, etc. It must be remembered that voluntary action cuts across various departments of life. For creation and channelisation of popular enthusiasm, voluntary organisations need to be guided and helped. Then they could make better contribution. The objective of all our effort should be to harness maximum community resources and use them for maximum results. There is a need for drive, almost a movement, a movement for drawing out community resources and for putting them to full use through voluntary action.



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